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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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29 APRIL 1987

USSR REPORT  
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

VLASOV, CENTRAL ASIAN LEADERS CONFER ON PUBLIC ORDER

PM251103 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 87 p 2

[KAZTAG report: "On Strengthening Legality and Law and Order"]

[Text] On 13 March a conference-seminar for leading personnel of the internal affairs ministries and administrations of the Transcaucasian and Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan opened in Alma-Ata.

The presidium comprised G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; A.V. Vlasov, USSR minister of internal affairs; M.S. Mendybayev, S.M. Mukashev, and N.A. Nazarbayev, members of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Buro; V.M. Miroshnik, candidate member of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Buro; I.V. Astapkin, senior official of the CPSU Central Committee; Colonel General A.V. Kovtunov, commander of the Central Asian Military District; Lieutenant General G.V. Kochkin, chief of the Central Asian Military District Political Directorate and member of the Military Council; and V.I. Yefimov, chief of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Administrative Organs Department.

Reports were delivered by: V.I. Gladyshev, chief of the USSR MVD Political Directorate, on progress in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Strengthening Socialist Legality and Law and Order and Strengthening the Protection of Citizens' Rights and Lawful Interests"; and B.K. Yelisov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, on the internal affairs organs' tasks in improving the work of militia precinct inspectors and upgrading their material provision.

The following took part in discussing the reports: M.D. Kalmatayev, chief of the Kazakh SSR MVD Political Department; K. Pulatov, Tajik SSR minister of internal affairs; V.F. Klapushevskiy, chief of the Tashkent Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Administration; L. A. Zhaltyrov, chief of the Pavlodar Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration; B. Moldagazyev, chief of the Kirghiz SSR MVD Political Department; E.S. Agabalov, chief of an Armenian SSR MVD department; A.N. Isabayev, chief of the Semipalatinsk Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Administration; G.G. Dzhabarov, chief of the Azerbaijan SSR MVD Political Department; G. V. Bichashvili, chief of a Georgian SSR MVD administration; and N.I. Anokhin, chief of the Chardzhou Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration.

A.V. Vlasov, USSR minister of internal affairs, and G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the conference-seminar.

The state of affairs in the MVD organs' work and the steps taken by them to strengthen legality and public order and to raise the standard and efficiency of militia precinct inspectors' service in conditions of expanding democracy, openness, and utmost reliance on the help and support of the working people were discussed in the light of the demands of the 27th Party Congress and the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The results of the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Strengthening Socialist Legality and Law and Order and Strengthening the Protection of Citizens' Rights and Lawful Interests" were summed up. A package of practical measures was planned to prevent or curtail drunkenness and moonshining, drug addiction, and procurement of unearned income, and other negative phenomena through the efforts of precinct inspectors in collaboration with other subdivisions of the militia and with social formations and working collectives.

While in Alma-Ata, USSR Internal Affairs Minister A.V. Vlasov visited a social law and order station and met with personnel of the Frunzenskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Section. At the city motor vehicles inspectorate he familiarized himself with an operational "Gorod" system and other modern equipment.

The country's minister of internal affairs visited a subunit of USSR MVD internal troops, Alma-Ata's USSR MVD militia specialized secondary school, and met leading staff of the Kazakh SSR MVD. The importance of further improvements in ensuring public order, strengthening socialist legality, and strengthening the protection of citizens' rights and lawful interests was stressed in the meetings and conversations.

N.A. Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, and V.I. Yefimov, chief of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Administrative Organs Department, accompanied A.V. Vlasov.

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## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### BSSR BURO URGES IMPROVEMENT IN CONSUMER GOODS, CONSTRUCTION

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 31 Jan 87 p 1

[Unattributed article: "In the Buro of the Central Committee of the Belorussian CP"]

[Text] At a meeting on 29 January the buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee examined and approved measures proposed by the BSSR Council of Ministers dealing with the fuller satisfaction of demand for goods and services by the population of the republic.

It is planned to implement additional measures to improve the system of contractual agreements between enterprises of trade and industry and to develop interbranch cooperation in the production of consumer goods. Special attention has been given to continued expansion in the republic of the network of enterprises involved in public nutrition and consumer services and to the training of qualified cadres for work in branches that manufacture consumer goods and that provide services.

The buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee heard the report of the Brest Oblast party obkom concerning work to implement the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, "On Measures to Strengthen the Struggle Against Non-Labor Expenditures." It was noted that the obkom of the Belorussian CP, many local party organizations and soviet organs have demonstrated an insufficiently active and demanding attitude toward the implementation of measures in this direction, and that they were slow to eliminate the reasons for and conditions which encouraged violations of law. Trade in many mass consumer items and building materials has been organized unsatisfactorily and the volume of services to the population is inadequate.

It has been proposed that the obkom of the Belorussian CP, gorkoms and raykoms, local party, trade union and komsomol organizations, and soviet, economic and law-enforcement organs in the oblast activate organizational and educational work with regard to avoiding and decisively rooting out non-labor expenditures and to achieving a radical improvement in all types of consumer services.

The question of the fulfillment of the capital construction plan for 1987 was discussed at a meeting of the buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee.

The resolution of the Belorussian CP Central Committee and the BSSR Council of Ministers emphasizes that this year in the republic we must implement a significantly greater building program. The plan for contractual work has been increased by over 10 percent as compared to last year, and the volume of building projects earmarked for socialist purposes--by 14 percent.

However, it was also noted that building ministries and departments in the republic are not taking exhaustive measures to introduce collective contracts and other progressive methods of labor organization and production at building sites and to achieve a high level of work quality and a curtailment of the time needed to put capacities and structures into operation. In many cases, BSSR ministries and departments and client enterprises supply building sites with equipment and planning-estimate documentation in an untimely fashion.

The Central Committee of the Belorussian CP and the BSSR Council of Ministers have obliged party and soviet organs, ministries and departments and the directors of the republic's enterprises and organizations to do everything necessary in order to successfully implement the capital building program for 1987. Here special attention must be given to the rapid transition to new management conditions on the basis of stable contract prices for ready building products, complete cost accounting [khozyaystvennyi raschet], self-supporting production [samookupayemost] and self-financing and the introduction this year of collective contracts in all building organizations. It has been recognized as necessary to more actively recruit labor collectives and the republic's population for the construction of buildings that are earmarked for social purposes.

Questions dealing with further curtailing documentation turnover and with refining work with letters and oral appeals by workers to the Central Committee of the Belorussian CP were examined. Measures were indicated to decrease business correspondence, to strengthen controls and investigations with regard to the implementation of decisions, and to more fully satisfy the daily needs and demands of citizens directly in labor collectives and at their place of residence.

Resolutions were passed at the meeting of the buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee on several other questions related to organizational-party and ideological work and economic and social development.

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CSO: 1800/403



## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### NIYAZOV SLAMS TURKMEN KOMSOMOL FAILINGS

PM131915 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 15 Feb 87 p 1-2

[Unattributed report on "Speech by S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, at the 28th Turkmen Komsomol Congress" in Ashkhabad on 14 February]

[Excerpt] Comrades! Today it is more important than ever to step up the attention paid to ideology, politics, and education in the work of Komsomol organizations. As the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted, the ideological aktiv is called on to take the party's ideas and policy to the masses, to provide them with an understanding of the historical necessity of restructuring, and to help each person find his own place in the nationwide struggle for acceleration. Is this very important demand of the party being fully realized in the activity of Turkmenia's Komsomol organizations? Of course not. And this is confirmed by facts from the Turkmen Komsomol Central Committee report and congress delegates' speeches.

Unfortunately, we have not succeeded here in analyzing the deep-seated causes of negative manifestations among young people or in discussing the most important problem--the problem of how and in what forms and methods to tackle the task of actually making young people energetic participants in change and, having become interested in restructuring, acting even more vigorously and assertively.

We are not satisfied with the work of the republic's Komsomol organizations in the moral, atheist, and international education of young people and the struggle against remnants of the past, various superstitions, and the harmful influence [vrednoye vliyaniye] of Islam.

The Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's mass media receive many letters from people--party and Komsomol veterans, communists, and Komsomol members--demanding that the struggle against these manifestations be intensified and that more exactingness and principled severity be shown toward those who are trying to push us back into the Middle Ages and who hold fast to reactionary customs and traditions. And what effective measures have been taken by the Komsomol? Are they effective enough? No, they are not!



Analysis shows that, in rural areas where old prejudices are still most tenacious, the standard of ideological and educational work by Komsomol organizations is low, as is Komsomol members' responsibility for the state of affairs on the kolkhoz, on the individual plot, and in the apartment house next door.

Information received by party organs attest that Muslim clergy, particularly the so-called itinerant mullahs, under the influence of inflammatory pan-Islamic broadcasts from abroad, try to interfere in questions of the regulations of family and domestic relations, in particular by performing the "nika" religious ceremony when young people marry. Some people are inclined to maintain that this is a national custom and close their eyes to the fact that this religious ceremony is primarily a manifestation of the clergy's wish to preserve and strengthen their influence on young people and derive unearned income from it. And it is particularly intolerable in this case when religious ceremonies are performed by Komsomol members; what is more, we know of instances of the "nika" ceremony being performed by a school teacher, VUZ students, and young specialists.

Indifference, inability, and sometimes even reluctance to finish the work started and the lack of a clear and comprehensive action program to overcome the serious shortcomings among young people have created these unfavorable circumstances and recurrences of amoral manifestations in the republic. Bride money, and "kaytarma" [custom whereby bride returns to family for short period after marriage] and "nika," which are derivations from it, cannot exist without the favorable ground of unearned income, speculation, overreporting, and swindling. Recently we had some useful discussions on this topic on television. The programs must be continued and must be full of impassioned protest against all negative manifestations with regard to women.

The value of all our ideological and educational work and the various forms of Komsomol study, agitation and lecture propaganda, and group, cultural, and sports work is not very great if medieval customs and ceremonies are rife among young people.

We believe that it will be a correct approach for the new Turkmen Komsomol Central Committee to elaborate and purposefully introduce a targeted, comprehensive program to combat religious survival. The most effective forms and methods--proven by practice and by the experience of the older generations--must be bound together into a mighty force and the whole ideological and political arsenal brought into play. And the party Central Committee department's--the chiefs are here present--must give the Komsomol practical help in this matter.

Educating young people in a spirit of internationalism and intransigence toward any manifestations of nationalism is a question of prime importance. The manifestation of nationalist prejudices, parochialism, and family-clan hostility are still permitted among students in some of the republic's VUZ's. Individual Turkmen students make remarks which insult the national dignity

of fellow students of other nationalities. There have been instances of the creation of student groupings according to family and clan. And that is in a milieu where the overwhelming majority of young people are Komsomol members. The Komsomol Central Committee has a lot of work to do here, and the Komsomol must not lose sight of any such case.

The Central Committee deems it expedient here for party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms and primary party organizations to make an in-depth and self-critical analysis of the state of international and patriotic education for working people in all labor collectives and educational establishments, especially among the intelligentsia, and to implement practical measures to improve this work. This applies to all VUZ's and especially creative organizations. Every negative element must be given an appropriate principled appraisal.

We must react particularly keenly to any instances in which national arrogance or narrowness are manifested and resolutely remove privileges for people of different nationalities or family-clan regions in terms of promotion to leading posts and entry to higher and specialized educational establishments, and also in tackling social questions.

Manifestations of parochialism and national exclusivity and sentiments of national pride are incompatible with the principles and ideas of proletarian internationalism. It is especially important to save the rising generation from the corrupting influence of nationalism. This was stated frankly at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and it is important to be able to draw practical conclusions for all our work in educating the population, and young people above all.

A very important sphere of young people's education is the organization of sensible leisure. The CPSU Central Committee has adopted a number of resolutions on this question. Their implementation has somewhat revived the work. But Komsomol organizations have not made a radical breakthrough in tackling the problems of organizing the free time and the aesthetic and physical education of young people. Poor use is still being made of the broad network of cultural and enlightenment, sports, and tourist facilities. Very often concern for young men's and women's leisure is limited to the opening of a new discotheque, cafe, or bar. The latest "spot" is created, and the Komsomol leaders consider their job done. And the fact that some discotheque becomes a breeding ground for bad behavior or a bar becomes a refuge for speculators does not bother the Komsomol organization leaders. It must be admitted that we are lagging behind the fraternal republics in the standard of culture and development of amateur artistic activity. Leaders of the Ministry of Culture discuss matters correctly and competently. But we do not need discussions but real and specific action. Only time will tell if Minister of Culture A. Mamiliyev is capable of improving matters. But he does not have long.

The question of maintaining a sober way of life is closely connected with the topic of moral purification. In 1986 alone there were many cases in which young people landed in the medical sobering-up station. They included Komsomol members, students, and pupils of technical colleges and vocational

and technical schools. The number of law violations committed through drunkenness is still high. The increase in juvenile crime in Ashkhabad, Chardzhou, and Mary Oblasts is alarming. There was an increase in crime among vocational and technical college and school pupils in 1986. The number of crimes connected with drug-taking increased among juveniles.

All this attests to the fact that there are many omissions in the work of the republic's Komsomol committees in the prevention of drunkenness, drug addiction, and other negative phenomena among juveniles and young people.

The Komsomol must be more active in helping the law enforcement organs to impose order in its own area. There must be special concern for difficult teenagers. There are more than enough resources to bring them back onto the correct path. There are around 1,200 Komsomol workers and hundreds of militia inspectors for juvenile affairs, pioneer leaders, organizers of work with children attached to housing management committees, mentors, members of people's voluntary militias, and Komsomol operational detachments, not to mention the resources at the disposal of schools and vocational and technical colleges. If we add all that together, there are at least 4-5 educators for every difficult teenager. But the results of their work are not apparent. We are seeing here a formal, bureaucratic attitude, indifference, or else plain inertia.

Over the course of several years an unhappy state of affairs has taken shape in the republic's Komsomol organizations with regard to preparing young people for service in the USSR Armed Forces. The proportion of Komsomol members among the draftees is below the unionwide level, and the number of young men released on health grounds is growing.

The number of draftees with a poor command of Russian is still considerable. This is a subject for particular attention because Russian is the language of Lenin, the language of international contacts. Every person should have an adequate mastery of it. But by no means has everything been done in the republic to ensure this. It is important to seek and utilize all forms to organize this work. There is great scope for Komsomol activity here. Central Committee Secretary M. Mollayeva and the republic Ministry of Education must take all measures to improve this work.

The republic's Komsomol organizations have major work to do to improve the standard of military and patriotic education of young people, the main criterion for which is all-around preparation of young men for military service, a professional military orientation, and the further strengthening of patronage links with military units.

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## HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

### HISTORY OF 'UTOPIAN SOCIALISM' IN RUSSIA EXAMINED

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNIYE NAUKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 (signed to press 15 Dec 86) pp 66-81

[Article by A.I. Volodin and B.M. Shakhmatov\*: "Utopian Socialism in Russia"; footnote states that article is a condensed version of the essay used as the preface to the anthology of the same title published in Moscow by Politizdat, 1985]

[Text] The ideological body of ideas that is known as "utopian socialism in Russian" was distinguished by the astonishing richness of the content and forms of its manifestation and it underwent a complex and contradictory half century of development. The study of this body of ideas remains topical even today.

As is known, by utopian socialism is understood the aggregate of teachings that expressed (true, still in immature form) the idea of the desirability and possibility of establishing the kind of social order in which there would be no exploitation of man by man or other forms of social inequality and oppression.

Pre-Marxian utopian socialism was born as an ideological reflection of the contradictions stemming from the capitalist civilization. Explaining the reasons for its appearance, V.I. Lenin wrote the following: "When serfdom was abolished and a 'free' capitalist society emerged into the light of day it was immediately found that this freedom signified a new system of oppression and exploitation of the workers. The various socialist teachings immediately began to arise as a reflection of this oppression and as a protest against it." (1)

Analyzing ideas about the future, F. Engels noted that the first gleams of Utopian socialism in Europe were developed by Thomas Muentzer, a leader in the Peasant War in the 14th century in Germany. One distinct form of the idea about the need for a new, communist order that would replace the centuries-old society of private property and exploitation was seen in Babeufism--the theory of the late 18th century French revolutionary Babeuf and his followers. Classical development of the idea of utopian socialism was to be found in the



theories of three great thinkers of the 19th century, namely, Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen. Their successors, less profound theoretically, provided a detailed exposition of many minutiae in the new teaching.

Even in its most developed form, West European utopian socialism (and herein lies its radical difference from the scientific communism of Marx and Engels) was nevertheless unable to find substantiation for the law-governed pattern in society's advance toward a new, truly just order. In Lenin's words, utopian socialism "has been unable to explain the essential nature of hired slaves under capitalism, or to reveal the laws of its development, or to find the social force that is capable of becoming the creator of the new society." (2)

Given all this, the debt owed to utopian socialism in advancing a number of ideas first introduced into the social sciences and the social consciousness is enormous. We note first and foremost the idea of the restricted nature of political and legal equality established as the result of bourgeois revolutions; the demand for not merely formal but actual equality, a social equality right through to equality in regard to property; the demand to deepen political revolution and transform it into a "social" revolution that does not, however, discard the achievements in material and spiritual culture made by bourgeois civilization; and finally, the new interpretation of the social ideal itself--the idea of a future order in which people's needs are not automatically leveled and equalized but are fully developed, and in which there is coincidence, unification and harmonization of personal and societal interests.

Utopian socialism failed to resolve in a strictly scientific fashion the problems that it faced. Nevertheless, criticism of the bourgeois revolution and the capitalist system from the standpoint of a higher social ideal, or in other words, positive antibourgeois thought, was what united all utopian socialists no matter what the trend or school to which they belonged. And perhaps this was the most important and most substantial thing in the content of the form of social theory that we call utopian socialism.

\* \* \* \* \*

When in 1832-1833 A. Gertsen and N. Ogarev turned to socialism as an antibourgeois social teaching this signified the start toward overcoming the profound crisis in which Russian freethinking found itself following the defeat of the Decembrist uprising. From that time, for another half century, as a rule consistent revolutionary democratism in Russia was seen in the form of utopian socialism.

Utopian socialism in Russia (in contrast to West Europe) emerged and developed at a time when serfdom had not yet been abolished within the country and when no radical economic or political transformations of the bourgeois type had taken place. The utopian socialists in Russia lived and developed their theoretical work and program proposals in an historical period in which all questions of public life were ultimately reduced to the struggle against the serf laws and their vestiges in the socioeconomic sphere, and the struggle against the tsarist autocracy in the political field. And this was by no



means an historical backdrop for the Russian socialists but the "context" of all life and activity permeated with the ideas of freeing the peasants and destroying political coercion.

At the same time, however, the age in which the Russian socialists acted was an age in which in countries in the West, the bourgeois order had already found that legal and juridical equality serves merely to hide the more sophisticated forms of worker exploitation, the pauperization of the masses, and the spread of the morality of "cash down" and egoism. Having fully recognized the extreme historical backwardness of the Russian autocratic and serf systems, in the early Thirties of the 19th century Gertsen and Ogarev concluded that the system that was being established in West Europe under the slogans of freedom, equality and fraternity was imperfect. The new political and legal institutions of capitalist society were unable to hide from the eyes of the young Russian thinkers the fact that in Europe also "things were going wrong" (Gertsen).

The poorly developed foundations of capitalism in the Russian reality of that period were the objective basis for formulating the problem of "Russia and the West": could not Russia bypass the path of development being followed by West Europe and arrive at a general prosperity? Were there not other special, corresponding national traditions and internal conditions for Russia's path into the future?

The solution proposed by Russian socialists to the problem of "Russia and the West" was much more complex and profound than that set forth by bourgeois historiography in the words "Westernizers" and "Slavophilism." The essential nature of the matter was that the "integrating," the soldering of Russia's past, present and future into a single whole, on the one hand, and the result of development and the main legacy of the West European world on the other, became among Russian socialists the very concept of socialism.

In the Forties the problem of socialism became the subject of very active discussion in Russian journalism. Socialist criticism of the West European bourgeois orders was consonant with the national self-awareness developing in Russia. This, however, is what deserves special attention: none of the major thinkers in Russia at that time--A. Gertsen, N. Ogarev, V. Belinskiy, M. Petrashevskiy, V. Milyutin--accepted uncritically any of the West European socialist teachings. Among the defects, even "absurdities" that they noted in these teachings the following were specially singled out: tendencies toward regulation of life in a future society, a spirit of leveling, a sense of being divorced from reality and so forth; but first and foremost, a weak philosophical and theoretical base.

In striving to underpin the socialist ideal with a solid theoretical foundation and impart to socialism a philosophical substantiation, the representatives of utopian socialism tried to "support" it first on the anthropological idea of "the nature of man," whose full realization could only be socialism, and second, on the dialectic and logic of world understanding, understood as the spirit of man, who supposedly has been striving from primeval times toward some reasonable order--an order of freedom and equality for one and all. In practical terms this was reflected in the persistent

"articulation" of the socialist ideal with the humanistic philosophy of Feuerbach on the one hand, and the dialectic of Hegel, on the other.

This theoretical search, extremely symptomatic in terms of its trends (for it was a question of attempts to synthesize precisely those teachings that were--in different historical conditions--the theoretical sources of Marxism) was of an international nature: we observe similar efforts to "unify" the teachings of Saint-Simon and Fourier from the positions of German philosophy in a number of other thinkers of the time in Germany, France, Poland, Bohemia [Chekhiya], Italy and other countries.

The most important feature of utopian socialism in Russia at that time, particularly in the late Forties, was the attempt to "build bridges" (Gertsen's expression) between the ideal and the historical reality, between the future and the present. The problem of the historical method and the interconnection between the course of ideas and the course of things and the unity of the dream and the reality was at the focus of intense thinking by Russian socialists. This found expression in their intentions and attempts to underpin socialist teaching with data from social sciences such as history and political economy, and in their unremitting attention toward the processes in their contemporary economic and sociopolitical development, particularly in the search for the seeds of socialism in social life itself.

The Russian socialists attempted to apply the idea of mankind's socialist future, which was one of the highest achievements of West European social thinking, to backward, patriarchal-peasant Russia and to "bring it to maturation" [odesyvtvorit] (Gertsen) there.

This was, of course, Utopia--but the kind of Utopia that was the ideological expression of the desire of the millions of oppressed Russian peasants for revolutionary destruction of the landowner system of landholding. It was a kind of form, to use Lenin's words, of "subjective socialism" that was the ideological banner of the most revolutionary trend in the antifeudal movement for emancipation. Given all the differences in the views of the Russian socialists, each of them could apply Gertsen's words to himself: "The main axis about which our life has turned is our relationship to the Russian people, and our faith in them and love for them... and the desire to be actively involved in their destiny." [3]

The Russian socialists tried to unify and fuse the idea of the emancipation of the peasantry and the idea of the struggle for man's freedom with the antibourgeois social ideal, the ideal of a society in which the power of private ownership would be destroyed and the social equality of the people would be insured not just formally but actually.

Socialist thinking in Russia thus arose as a unique recognition of the crisis of bourgeois-democratic ideology, revelation of its impasses, and indication of its limited nature, as the result of an ideological quest along paths different from those along which the postrevolutionary West had passed, as an antibourgeois form of social awareness. Since it was also essentially prescientific and utopian at its international level, in Russia it naturally

assumed special forms that were developed precisely by Russian thinkers who were, of course, concerned primarily with "adapting" the general principles of socialism to the conditions of their own homeland.

The main form of utopian socialism in Russia was peasant socialism ("Russian," commune, populist), which was the ideological formulation and vestment of revolutionary and democratic interests. Herein lay the chief contradiction of peasant socialism. "It is an irony of history," Lenin wrote, "that Populism for 'the struggle against capitalism' in agriculture leads to the kind of agrarian program whose full implementation would mean the most rapid development of capitalism in agriculture." (4) Accordingly, when speaking of peasant socialism in Russia, Lenin usually put the word "socialism" in quotation marks.

The events of the 1848-1849 revolution played a decisive role in the switch made by the Russian socialist thinkers toward reality; and this was expressed, in particular, in the persistent attempts to substantiate the socialist ideal by relying on the rural commune as an element of the most realistic social life. While providing enormous impetus to the development of proletarian socialism in the countries of West Europe, this revolution also exerted considerable influence on social thinking in other countries. For the utopian socialists of Russia, where the most important issue was still the liquidation of autocratic-serf systems, it became a very powerful catalyst in the development of realistic trends in their thinking and a point of departure in shaping the concept of "Russian" commune socialism, giving substantiation to the possibility of achieving socialism along a path differing substantially from the West European path, by bypassing the stage of "bourgeois philistinism."

Work on populist socialism was a qualitative boundary in the development of socialism in Russia: henceforth the socialist ideal was to be harnessed to the chariot of Russian development. It was a clear revelation of the contrary interests of the Russian dependent peasantry (and in part the emerging working class and preproletariat) and Russian bourgeois liberalism.

A number of Russian thinkers came to the ideas of Populism at the same time. Nevertheless, priority in work on this concept belongs to Gertsen: he was the first to see in the rural commune the real bulwark of socialism as an actual present element of the future society, even if it was in need of development. While at the same time emphasizing the negative aspects of the commune ("any undeveloped communism represses the individual"), Gertsen suggested that the most important component of the concept of "Russian" socialism was the proposition on the need to "impregnate" the peasant "commune" [mir] with Western science, that is, properly speaking, socialist theory. Therefore, through the commune Russia could come to socialism while bypassing some of the phases of the European development, so that its leading people "who have passed through Western civilization" and developed socialist theory, would, as it were, absorb the world historical experience. "Russia has passed through its own revolutionary embryogenesis in the European school... We have stood the people in good stead," Gertsen said. (5)



Thus, his "Russian" socialism was in no way an idealization of the peasant commune. It was an expression (under conditions that were, of course, illusory and utopian) of the theoretical search for a version of Russia's accelerated movement toward socialist restructuring through the spiritual mastery of social experience in the countries of West Europe.

At the same time, since it was an expression of the revolutionary nature of bourgeois peasant democracy in Russia, "Russian" socialism was no more than an inadequate theoretical form of the radical antifeudal aspirations of the peasantry. "Gertsen," Lenin wrote, "saw 'socialism' in the emancipation of the peasants from the land, in commune landholding and the peasant idea of a 'right to land'... In fact, in this teaching of Gertsen, as in Populism... there is no grain of socialism." (6)

After Gertsen the ideas of populist socialism were developed in the late Fifties in articles by N. Chernyshevskiy. However, the views of Gertsen and Chernyshevskiy on the commune (as on the question of the fate of socialism in the West) certainly did not coincide on everything. Polemicizing with Gertsen in his article "On the Reasons for the Downfall of Rome," Chernyshevskiy wrote as follows: "The ideals of the future are realized by the development of civilization rather than in bootless vainglory over the remnants of what has long since vanished." (7) In this connection it is worth noting that in Chernyshevskiy's discussions on Russia's path to socialism great attention is paid to the idea of "a quite prolonged transition state." (8) Ogarev, too, preached the ideas of populist socialism.

While stating this common, populist, coloring to utopian socialism in Russia, we note yet another very important feature that was realized with special force primarily in Chernyshevskiy's creativity, namely work on economic issues in the theory of socialism. The propositions--to elucidate the clash of ideas and theories on the struggle between the classes, and to substantiate socialism on the basis of political economy--were so soundly validated by Chernyshevskiy and used so fruitfully in concrete analysis as to be close to scientific socialism. It is precisely this persistent desire to present socialism as the inevitable result of society's socioeconomic development that also makes Chernyshevskiy the greatest representative of utopian socialism in Russia. Lenin called him "...the great pre-Marxian socialist of the period." (9)

Chernyshevskiy took a decisive step toward the materialistic understanding of history. Rejecting in principle the "dogmatic anticipation of the future" (10), he moved on to a study of the historical process in the birth of a new society from out of the old, from the existing economic reality. This was seen increasingly in his work connected with the translation of and commentary on J.S. Mill's work "Principles of Political Economy." According to Chernyshevskiy, the purpose of the historical process is revealed by the very facts of economic development, namely, the increase in embodied labor, particularly the growth of large-scale industry, which requires that the master of production be the worker. This also primarily predetermines the future inevitability of a breakdown in the relationships of exploitation and oppression and the liquidation of private ownership in general. As Chernyshevskiy wrote it, socialism is an economic necessity, just as, in its

time, was capitalism, which brought mankind the more developed forms of production compared with feudal "slavery": "economic history moves toward development of the principle of comradeship..." (11)

Of course, note should be made of the abstract and naive nature of these arguments of Chernyshevskiy: he remained a utopian and was unable to "leap" beyond the framework of his own time and his own country, just as he was unable to go beyond the limits of an inherently anthropological world outlook. But what is important is something else: Chernyshevskiy was able to foresee quite accurately the historical doom of private-ownership systems not only in their capitalist form but even in principle, and he also correctly pointed out the decisive economic advantage over such systems of the kind of system "in which individual classes of hired workers and hirers of labor will vanish to be replaced by a single class of people who will be both workers and bosses. at the same time." (12) The tormented Chernyshevskiy's solution to the problem of connecting socialist theory and the reality of life is seen primarily along the path of practical, including mass revolutionary, actions that correspond to the maximum to given historical conditions.

Thus, for the almost 30 years of its development before the era of the peasant reform in 1861 utopian socialism in Russia passed through three stages, properly speaking: the Thirties--the stage of "uterine development," mainly at the level of and in the forms of individual awareness; the Forties--the time of the first elucidations in the literature, which transformed utopian socialism into a real fact of social awareness, the time of the philosophical substantiation of the socialist ideal; and the Fifties--the period characterized primarily by the desire to provide a socioeconomic substantiation for socialism and by work on the theory of Populism, which became an influential trend in social thinking in the 19th century in Russia.

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The Sixties brought new factors into socialist thinking in Russia, not only in content and but the very forms of its existence and expression. The unfettered words of Gertsen and the revolutionary-political preaching of Chernyshevskiy on the pages of SOVREMENNİK inspired a new generation of fighters against the autocracy in the name of a socialist future.

During the era of reform the ideas of socialism acquired a relatively mass base, spreading among the democratically inclined intelligentsia. The typical figure was now the socialist-raznochinets [an intellectual not belonging to the gentry]. Lenin regarded the advance of the raznochinets as the leading force in the movement for emancipation as a significant sign of a major new stage. (13) At the turn of the Fifties and Sixties two trends combined--utopian peasant socialism and the mass revolutionary movement of the raznochinets intelligentsia--a unification that led to the formation of revolutionary utopian socialism, aimed at storming the autocracy and at the radical transformation of Russia.

The main and decisive feature of socialist thinking at the time of the reforms was the desire to make socialist theory and revolutionary practice correspond as closely as possible. There was no single socialist theoretician of any



standing who did not one way or another participate directly in the struggle as part of some revolutionary organization or other. This desire was also seen most clearly in the sharp polemic between these organizations on questions of program and tactics. It was precisely the socialist movement (that is, the unity and cohesion of utopian socialism and the revolutionary-democratic process) that predominated.

This new attribute of utopian socialism was not only found in the preparation of and support for the theoretical and practical activities of Gertsen, Ogarev, Chernyshevskiy and Dobrolyubov, but also expressed in its classical manifestation. But no matter how important their activity, the real scope of the revolutionary struggle and the new stimuli for quest in theory and in working on the socialist ideal and, particularly, ways to realize it in Russia were nevertheless imparted by dozens of their talented pupils, companions-in-arms and successors, and the hundreds and thousands of less well-known and unknown participants in the movement for emancipation. During the years of the revolutionary situations, other brilliant socialist publicists acted together with Gertsen, Ogarev, Chernyshevskiy and Dobrolyubov; such as, M. Mikhaylov, N. Shelgunov, N. Serno-Solovyevich, G. Blagosvetlov and D. Pisarev, and figures in the revolutionary underground such as P. Zaichnevskiy, V. Obruchev, A. Sleptsov and N. Utin. It was also in those years that P. Lavrov, V. Bervi-Flerovskiy, N. Sokolov, P. Tkachev, P. Kropotkin and others joined the revolutionary movement.

With the abolition of the serf laws in 1861, the conditions of existence for and the intensity and forms of socialist ideas and actions altered radically. An organized underground sprang up, with central organs to lead it, and the trend was toward stability and consolidation and forms of joint work. The underground became indestructible and its existence continuous, and it even remained during periods of the most cruel reaction. The underground organized its own press, which became an important factor in the movement for emancipation, including socialist emancipation, in the times of the reforms.

The need to influence broad strata of the population naturally also gave birth to numerous other forms of activity by the revolutionaries, and here the search was conducted mainly along two avenues: using legal forms to propagandize socialist ideas, and open and public statements of the socialists' convictions, and direct agitation in order to involve new forces in the struggle, particularly from among students, peasants and soldiers.

The most important and painful issue for any utopian-socialist theory was the question of the relationship between the ideal and the reality; under the conditions prevailing in Russia at the time of the reforms theory descended from the heights of abstract theoretical cogitations to the level of applied work and practical verification. This represented a significant step forward in the evolution of socialism in Russia. It was a step that consisted of weaving the problems of revolution and its strategy and tactics right into the fabric of socialism. The Russian socialists engaged wholeheartedly in a careful and detailed examination of the contemporary reality of any given period, and with issues such as the motive force, character, revolution and relationships between economic and political tasks, a maximum program and a minimum program, propaganda and organization, policy and justice; all issues

that had previously been considered unrelated to the makeup of the theory of socialism. Now they had become an integral part of this theory, and, moreover, a part that was constantly the subject of dispute between different socialists because of the different interpretations that separated them, apportioned them and divided them into trends, societies, circles and parties.

During the Sixties through the Eighties it was also impossible for the socialists in Russia to achieve unity on the issues comprising the core of the problem concerning the relationship between the ideal and the reality; and hence, impossible in principle to resolve the issues within the framework of utopian socialism. Here, the issue was to do with the boundaries of socialist utopianism itself as a type of Weltanschauung.

Including in the fabric of the meditations and creativity of the Russian socialists issues concerning the practical transformation of existing Russian reality resulted in more stringent requirements being set for the theory of socialism itself. The need to move on from a general theoretical consideration of the problem of the relationship between the ideal and the reality and calls for analysis of the present as the actual point of departure for the future (we observe all this in among the Russian socialists of the Forties and Fifties) to an in-depth study of the surrounding reality and perhaps a more concrete definition of ways to transform it on socialist foundations led to the study and elucidation in socialist journalism of the truly painful questions such as the peasant question, the worker question, the women's question, the national question and so forth. The solutions suggested for these issues were included in the programs of the revolutionary organizations and reflected in the leaflets.

From the moment that utopian socialism was united with the movement for emancipation in raznochinets democracy, socialist ideas and revolutionary practice moved in the same direction. This link provides the justification for singling out individual periods in the development of socialist thinking in Russia at the time of the reforms. Three such major periods can be distinguished, namely, 1861-1866, 1867-1874, and 1875-1883. Each of them corresponds to one of the three major onslaughts by the raznochinets revolutionaries on the autocracy and were marked ultimately by specific revolutionary acts: in 1866 it was D. Karakozov's attempt on the tsar, in 1874 the mass "march to the people," and in 1881 the execution of Alexander II, carried out in accordance with a decision by the revolutionary organization known as "Narodnaya Volya." The movement for emancipation and the theories of utopian socialism altered their forms in line with these events.

One typical feature of socialist thought in Russia during the period 1861-1866 was that it was not a single whole, even though it was predominantly reformist; given all the variety of interpretations and opinions, the internal differentiation of the various trends in Russian socialism was still relatively insignificant, even though passionate disputes about the ways and means to transform Russia arose among the socialists.

When the popular uprising anticipated for the summer of 1863 failed to materialize, and within a year uprisings had been put down in Poland, Lithuania, Belorussia and the Ukraine, within the ranks of the revolutionary

socialists there were noticeable signs of disorder and the ideas in their world outlook were in turmoil, and this was reflected in a literary way in the press.

The polemic between SOVREMENNİK and RUSSKOYE SLOVO, which had developed following the ebb of the revolutionary wave, was an obvious and very serious manifestation in the legal press of the crisis in utopian socialism in the mid-Sixties. The line of demarcation lay not only between these press organs but also through them, separating the socialist trend, on the one hand, from liberalism, and on the other, from the illusions of some rapid and relatively easy socialist transformation in Russia. This polemic marked a trend toward sober socialist realism.

It was precisely at that time that not simply a mass but an increasingly internal and organized Russian revolutionary and socialist emigration took shape (which later became a permanent factor in the movement for emancipation in Russia right through to 1917). Those representing the "young emigration," who underestimated the importance of socialist theory, engaged in sharp polemic with Gertsen, reproaching him for yielding to liberalism and for political inconsistency. They suggested that what was needed for revolution were "not only 'historical monographs' and 'theoretical articles' but primarily and mainly, so to speak, 'textbooks'..." (14)

A similar revolutionary-utilitarian and narrow pragmatic approach to socialist theory was also the hallmark of many practical socialists. At that time revolutionary youth in Russia itself was impressed by Chernyshevskiy's ideas, expressed in the novel "Chto delat?" [What Is To Be Done?]. Following publication of the novel in SOVREMENNİK (1863), it became the thing for raznochinets youth busily to set up various forms of production artels and fellowships and domestic communes. The most well known was the so-called bellwether commune in Petersburg, organized by a member of the staff of SOVREMENNİK, V. Sleptsov. The idea of the communes (or artels) was embodied extensively in the activity of the the revolutionary organization of N. Ishutin and I. Khudyakov, the largest underground organization in the mid-Sixties. This "communal movement" was regarded, both by its own members and by the system of tsarist political surveillance, as a practical realization of socialist and communist ideas.

During the period 1866-1874, in the conditions of the violence from extreme reaction following the unsuccessful attempt on the life of Tsar Alexander II by D. Karakozov, a follower of Ishutin, and the failure of the revolutionary upsurge in the socialist movement and in socialist thinking, the processes of differentiation became more frequent and more acrimonious: various trends arose within Russian socialism, sometimes totally irreconcilable, and they became increasingly splintered. Regardless of the subjective desires of its leading representatives and rank-and-file supporters, socialist thinking in Russia in this period moved in a different direction in its evolution. The old peasant socialism of Gertsen and Chernyshevskiy, conceptually whole and rich but quite abstract, was replaced with a theory of a new "effective populism" in which general theoretical concepts were concretized in the programs for direct social action. (15) In a somewhat oversimplified and



coarsened manner it might be said that it was precisely in the latter half of the Sixties that we see the onset of the crisis in the old populist socialism.

The objective situation resulted in the need for a new, and perhaps more concrete theory, able to be used in a practical and applied way for the socialist transformation of Russia. The process of differentiation now underway had not shaken the convictions of most socialists in the revolutionary potential of the peasantry. In general, on the practical plane everything also pointed to the fact that it was precisely *raznochinets* youth that could and should awake and develop the socialist instincts of the people and enable them to display their revolutionary nature. The disagreements started when considering the issues of precisely how this was to be done, what needed to be done and when, and what knowledge and attributes the revolutionary socialists should possess.

Among some revolutionaries who had been shaped under conditions deep in the underground during the period of the White Terror, the ideas of Moral Nihilism and permissiveness in everything for the revolutionary ideal became dominant; such ideas were particularly typical of the anarchist statements of M. Bakunin and the adventurism of S. Nechayev.

Nechayev acted with conscious rejection of any formation of a clear, positive platform and from the outset refuted the "false science of economics" and the impractical inventions of the "authoritative clever people," setting his hopes in the "political wisdom" of the illiterate people, without knowing or wishing to distinguish true social values from imaginary values, or humanism from antihumanism. He declared that "the way out of the existing social order and for the renewal of life with new beginnings can be accomplished only by concentrating all means... in the hands of OUR COMMITTEE and by making physical labor mandatory for everyone." (17)

Gertsen spoke out sharply against this kind of attitude. The letters "To an Old Comrade," which became the political testament of the thinker, left a clear impression of his reflections in the latter years of his life on the essential nature of socialism and revolution and the fundamental theoretical fallaciousness and practical harm of quasirevolutionism and pseudosocialism. One of the main targets he selected for his criticism was precisely the distorted representation of socialism and of the ways to it, and he wrote of the impossibility and impermissibility of building new socialist forms of life through violence. To the perpetrators of the line pursued by Babeuf as contemporary social thinking in his (Babeuf's) time, Gertsen turned with irony: "Will you retain the social body of the gendarmerie when starting the new life?" (18) One of the most important of the letters "To an Old Comrade" dealt with the productive and creative nature of the future socialist revolution. Socialism, or more accurately the revolutionary coup that it would introduce, "should not only be a sword for those who are felled but also a force for preservation": "The sad thing for the impoverished soul and emaciated artistic thought regarding the coup is that everything taken from what has been accumulated from the past will make a tedious workshop whose sole gain will be only a subsistence, and that subsistence will be all that there is." (1) This notable work, highly regarded by Lenin (20), is a warning and a caution.

In the early Seventies, program manifestos appeared abroad, issued by the main theoreticians of revolutionary Populism: "Bakunin's "Supplement A to 'Statehood and Anarchy'" (1873), Lavrov's program journal VPERED (1873) and Tkachev's "Tasks for Revolutionary Propaganda in Russia" (1874). With the publication of these works the main ideological bases of the three avenues of revolutionary Populism were once and for all defined.

One thing that they had in common was the understanding of the socialist ideal, the understanding of social revolution as a peasant revolution; what they also had in common was the task of destroying the monarchy and feudal relationships; and also the bases for criticism of capitalism and the recognition that capitalist development was regression as far as Russia was concerned. Here, in general propositions, the theoreticians of Populism were less original with respect to the ideas of commune socialism, developed by Gertsen and Chernyshevskiy. Engels rightly pointed to the unsoundness of commune illusions compared to scientific socialism. (21) And indeed they were illusions; but under the conditions of a peasant country that had not yet set out on a path of capitalist development they brought the people of the Seventies closer to the socialists of the Sixties on the basis of a revolutionary socialism that inspired the revolutionaries in their struggle. This relative progressiveness of the utopian ideals of revolutionary Populism was noted by Lenin. (22)

Notwithstanding, for the history of utopian socialism in Russia the thing of greatest interest is what was new in what the theoreticians of Populism in the Seventies introduced into the development of social thinking. This was primarily in the work on the theory of social revolution. For the first time in the history of utopian socialism the problems of revolution and socialism were considered in unity, and comprehensively, on the basis of study of experience gained by the revolutionary movement. The people and revolution (revolution and the peasantry, revolution and the factory workers, revolution and the intelligentsia and so forth); economic (social) and political revolution; revolution and the state; the revolutionary party and revolution; knowledge and revolution; revolution and morality and revolution and religion; revolution and the nationalities question and so forth, right down to the smallest details of what revolutionaries had to do on the eve of, during the course of and on the day after the revolution: this is by no means a complete list of the problems discussed so carefully in the press and in revolutionary circles throughout the Seventies and early Eighties.

And here, it was not only the positive but also the negative results of this work on the problems of revolution and socialism that were useful, because they chopped off the impasse routes and this served as a lesson for subsequent generations of revolutionary socialists. As an example we could cite the negative effect of Bakunin's anarchist preaching for immediate abolition of the state. This led, on the one hand, to a prolonged and stubborn rejection by most revolutionary socialists of any kind of political struggle and did serious harm to the socialist movement, while on the other it led to a positive formulation of and serious work on the question of the need for state power during the period of revolution and subsequent revolutionary dictatorship.



When speaking of the development of utopian socialism in Russia in the Seventies and early Eighties we must not limit ourselves to the activity of the leading ideologists in revolutionary Populism. The foundation of the socialist movement and its main characteristic features were the programs of the revolutionary organizations. These programs included and focused the aims of the movement and its ideology, organizational forms, political line, and the nature of the activity and behavior of each member. It can be said without exaggeration that the history of socialist thinking during the period 1875-1881 is the history of the programs of the revolutionary organizations and their press organs, including major organizations such as "Zemlya i volya" [Land and Freedom], "Narodnaya volya" [People's Will] and "Chernyy peredel" [Black Repartition].

During the course of the second revolutionary situation in 1878-1881 the history of the socialist movement in Russia in fact was reduced to the heroic single combat by "Narodnaya volya" against the autocracy.

The downfall of "Narodnaya volya" and the sharp decline in the revolutionary movement following the events of 1 March 1881, and the failure of a number of attempts to create a new organization for the Populists all meant that pre-Marxian socialism as a theory for the struggle for emancipation had been totally exhausted.

The formation of Plekhanov's "Osvobozhdeniye truda" [Liberation of Labor] group in 1883 marked the end of the pre-Marxian period in the development of socialist thinking in Russia and the replacement of utopian socialism with a scientific, peasant and proletarian socialism.

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The unique character of utopian socialism in Russia as a variety of world utopian socialist thinking lies not so much in its national-populist and peasant coloring as in the depth and degree to which Russian thinkers developed the problems common for utopian socialism in general. The history of utopian socialism in Russia is graphic testimony to the truly international nature of knowledge about society and its present and future, even at the level of development for this knowledge at a time when it had not become truly scientific.

As an international and general phenomenon it was open to the influences of scholars born in other countries; as a phenomenon of Russian history it expressed the unique requirements of Russia's development. Lenin wrote that "for about half a century, from approximately the Forties to the Nineties, leading thinking in Russia under the yoke of an unprecedentedly savage and reactionary tsarism, avidly searched for a correct revolutionary theory by following with astonishing diligence each and every 'latest word' from Europe and America in this field. Marxism as the only correct revolutionary theory was truly gained by Russia through the half century of a history of unheard-of torment and sacrifice, unprecedented revolutionary heroism, unbelievable energy

and selfless search, and through learning and practical testing, through disenchantment and verification and through comparison of Europe's experience." (23)

#### FOOTNOTES

- \* A.I. Volodin. Doctor of philosophical sciences, professor at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. Author of a number of works on the history of social thinking in Russia in the 19th century, including the monograph "Gegel i russkaya sotsialisticheskaya mysl XIX veka" [Hegel and Russian Socialist Thinking of the 19th Century] and "Utopiya i istoriya" [Utopia and History].

B.M. Shakhmatov. Candidate of philosophical sciences, docent at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. Specialist on questions of the development of philosophical and sociopolitical thinking in Russia during the latter half of the 19th century. Author of a monograph entitled "P.N. Tkachev. Etyudy k tvorcheskomu portetu" [P.N. Tkachev. Studies for a Creative Portrait].

1. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 23, p 46.
2. Ibid.
3. A.I. Gertsen. Collected Works, in 30 volumes. Vol 18. Moscow, 1959, p 276.
4. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 21, p 405.
5. A.I. Gertsen. Collected Works, in 30 volumes, Vol 12. Moscow, 1957, p 186.
6. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 21, pp 257-258.
7. N.G. Chernyshevskiy. Complete Collected Works, Vol 7. Moscow, 1950, p 662.
8. See N.G. Chernyshevskiy. Complete Collected Works, Vol 5. Moscow, 1950, p 151; Vol 4. Moscow, 1948, pp 329, 437-438.
9. V.I. Lenin. op. cit. Vol 41, p 55.
10. K. Marx and F. Engels. Works, Vol 1, p 379.
11. N.G. Chernyshevskiy. op. cit., Vol 9. Moscow, 1959, p 643.
12. Ibid., p 487.
13. V.I. Lenin. op. cit., Vol 25, p 93.

14. "Literaturnoye nasledstvo" [The Literary Legacy], Vol 62, Moscow, 1955, pp 408-409.
15. V.I. Lenin. op. cit., Vol 22, p 304.
16. For further detail see I.K. Pantin. "Sotsialisticheskaya mysl v Rossii: perekhod ot utopii k nauke" [Socialist Thinking in Russia: the Transition from Utopia to Science], Moscow 1973.
17. Cited from K. Marx and F. Engels. op. cit., Vol 18, p 413.
18. A.I. Gertsen. op. cit. Vol 20, Book 2. Moscow, 1960, p 585.
19. Ibid., p 581.
20. See V.I. Lenin. op. cit., Vol 21, p 257.
21. See K. Marx and F. Engels. op. cit., Vol 18, pp 537-548.
22. See V.I. Lenin. op. cit., Vol 1, p 271.
23. Ibid., Vol 41, pp 7-8.

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## HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

### 'SYSTEMATIC' HISTORY' OF MARXISM-LENINISM PUBLISHED

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[Unattributed review of book "Istoriya Marksizma-leninizma" [The History of Marxism-Leninism] edited by a main editorial collegium led by A.G. Yegorov, (1) Politizdat, 1986; a footnote states that the article is an abridged version of the preface to the first volume of a six-volume series; the first volume is entitled "Formirovaniye, razvitiye i rasprostraneniye marksizma, utverzhdeniye yego v rabochem dvizheniyem 40-e gody XIX veka-1871 god" [The Shaping, Development and Spread of Marxism and Its Affirmation in the Workers' Movement from the 1840's through 1871]]

[Text] In 1986 publication was started on a six-volume work from the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, entitled "The History of Marxism-Leninism."

Work on the systematic history of Marxism-Leninism is acquiring growing significance. There is now an urgent need for scientific elucidation of the history of Marxist-Leninist teaching in its entirety, with unity of its integral parts, and linked organically to social development and the international workers' and communist movement.

In terms of its substance and character "The History of Marxism-Leninism" is to some extent a summary work. It is designed to bring together in a single whole the achievements of Marxist historiography over the past decades in the USSR and other countries in the field of the history of Marxism-Leninism and to unify everything of value and importance that has been introduced into its study by Soviet and foreign researchers--historians, philosophers, economists and representatives of the other social sciences. At the same time it is a generalizing work because it does not merely mechanically combine the outcomes and results of analysis of various problems and issues but combines them into a creative synthesis and considers them on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodological principles for scientific research. At the same time, creation of the work has required search and work on a number of complex problems, including those connected with the methodology for elucidating the whole development of Marxism-Leninism in the aggregate of its component parts, along with an examination of developing Marxism-Leninism in unity with its revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice.



The theoretical and methodological bases for "The History of Marxism-Leninism" were the works of K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin and documents of the CPSU, the Comintern and the contemporary international communist movement.

From the works of Marx, "Denunciation of the Cologne Trial of Communists," "Herr Vogt" and "Imaginary Schisms in the Internationale" and the prefaces to "Critique of Political Economy" and the first volume of "Das Kapital," and also many of his letters--to F. Engels, to F. Freiligrath, (Yu. Beber), (I. Weydermeyer), L. Kugelman, F.A. Sorge, F. Bolt and a number of other people, which contain much valuable information and instructions on questions concerning the shaping and development of the ideas of the founders of Marxism and their activities--are specially singled out.

As is known, Engels was the first biographer of Marx and historian of Marxism. He gave definition to the essential nature of Marxist teaching, showed its structure and the relationship of the component parts, and revealed the ideological sources used in the shaping of Marxism and its links with previous philosophical, economic and social theories, and he elucidated the law-governed patterns in the genesis and development of the new world outlook and of its main stages.

In his own work Lenin repeatedly touched on questions concerning the historical development of Marxism. He even devoted a series of special works to these questions. Even at the start of his revolutionary activity he was a peerless savant of the works of Marx and Engels and the history of the international worker and socialist movement. As successor in the cause of Marx and Engels, along with further development of their work, Lenin had to defend it from the numerous attempts made by bourgeois ideologues and revisionists to distort and discredit the theoretical foundations of Marxism, distort its history, and cast a shadow over its historical destiny. In polemics with them Lenin created the scientific concept of the history of Marxism based on the objective law-governed patterns in its development that he revealed.

Lenin's works contain directions on the subject of the history of Marxism and the dialectic of the historical and the logical in its study and elucidation. Lenin developed a scientific periodization for the history of Marxism and showed its organic link with the workers' movement and all of social development, and the growing role of Marxist ideas in the historical process. Lenin's propositions on questions of the history of Boleshevism and the development of social thinking and of the international workers' movement in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism are of the greatest importance.

The documents of the CPSU, the Comintern and the present-day international communist movement, and of the fraternal parties contain a characterization of the Leninist stage in the development of Marxism and the history of Marxism-Leninism in general, and the development of Marxism-Leninism at the present stage.

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The creation of "The History of Marxism-Leninism" was preceded by comprehensive preparatory work. First of all the subject matter of the history of Marxism-Leninism was defined.

The subject of the history of Marxism, like Marxism itself, has altered historically, becoming more capacious, more complex and more diverse and always filled with new content. In its broadest meaning the subject of the scientific history of Marxism-Leninism is the formation and creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, its spread and unification with the workers' movement, and its embodiment in the revolutionary class struggle and the process of building socialism and communism.

Without doubt the main task in work on the scientific history of Marxism-Leninism and the main substance of a summary, generalizing work on the history of Marxism-Leninism is research on and the elucidation of the emergence, shaping and progressive development of Marxist theoretical thinking as a unified set of the ideas comprising it and of the entire Marxist-Leninist world outlook as a whole, and the process of the historical development of this world outlook at all its stages. It is also to show the development of the component parts of Marxism-Leninism--the philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism, political economy and the theory of scientific communism, and to the degree necessary to elucidate work on the historical, ethical, aesthetic, legal, scientific-atheistic and military-theoretical tenets of Marxism-Leninism.

It goes without saying that construction of the scientific history of Marxism-Leninism is considered not in the form of a parallel exposition of results from the analysis of development of its component parts through historical stages that differ one from the other. Development of the component parts should be considered together, in their dialectical unity, interaction and wholeness, exactly as it has occurred in reality, that is, as the unified process of the development of Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking, all of whose parts and aspects are interconnected and interdependent.

The unity and wholeness of Marxism-Leninism are determined by the fact that by their very nature the integral elements of Marxism-Leninism possess a common substance, representing an aggregate of the scientific ideology of the proletariat and providing theoretical substantiation from the different aspects of the worldwide-historic role of the working class and its aims and ideals. Lenin condemned attempts to narrow Marxism and reduce its substance to an economic teaching "that omits all the features of its sociological method, the teaching on the class struggle, and the direct aim of research, namely, to reveal all the forms of antagonism and exploitation so as to help the proletariat rid itself of them." (2) Making use of Lenin's opinion on Marxist philosophy, it can be said of Marxism in general that "it is forged from the same steel": "it is not possible to draw out from it a single main reference nor any significant part of it without moving from objective truth and without playing into the hands of a bourgeois-reactionary lie." (3)

It is common knowledge that the development of integral Marxist-Leninist teaching takes place through advancing the various aspects of its rich substance to the forefront during specific periods in line with the concrete-historical conditions of the times, its political tasks, and the urgent requirements of social development. "Given all the richness and diversity of the ideological substance of Marxism it is not surprising that... different periods historically advance first one then another aspect of Marxism," Lenin wrote. "This does not mean that it is permissible at some time to ignore one aspect of Marxism; it means only that the dominant interest in a given aspect of it depends not on subjective desires but on an aggregate of historical conditions." (4)

Accordingly, when offering an account of the development of Marxism, for example, during the Fifties and Sixties of the 19th century (when Marx made a special analysis of the capitalist method of production for the purpose of revealing the main economic law in the movement of bourgeois society and the economic basis of scientific communism), a detailed and thorough elucidation of the development of the economic teaching of Marxism was accompanied by a review of development in other component parts of Marxism.

When revealing the rich content of "Das Kapital" it has been shown that this work by Marx is not only an economic study of genius but also a profound philosophical and historical study. In "Das Kapital" Marx offered an analysis of extensive material, making use of the method and theory of dialectical and historical materialism that he and Engels had created, and these, in turn, were also further developed. Scientifically generalizing in "Das Kapital" the richest concrete-historical material, Marx further developed the materialist understanding of history and provided a deeper foundation for the historical views of Marxism.

This kind of approach to elucidation of the development of theoretical thinking determined the structure of the work. This structure embodied within itself the organic unity and nonseparability of the method and theory of Marxism-Leninism throughout its entire historical development and at each moment in that development.

In the history of Marxism-Leninism its own approach to the presentation of theoretical material has been developed as a scientific discipline. It is commonplace, for example, that in the scientific study of Marx and of Lenin we distinguish preparatory materials as the object of research, namely, plans, notebooks, abstracts, sketches, initial versions, and unfinished and unpublished manuscripts by the authors themselves. These make it possible to penetrate into the creative laboratory of the founders of Marxism-Leninism and trace in detail the path that the thinkers trod toward their generally known propositions and conclusions and classical formulations.

By relying on the achievements of the scientific study of Marx and Lenin the history of Marxism-Leninism throws light on theoretical material in a generalized way. It is not only that some of the initial formulations of propositions and conclusions contained in the notebooks and preliminary manuscripts were further worked and substantially altered but that some were not developed and not included in the final text of works. When researching



and elucidating the history of Marxism-Leninism and taking into account the specific nature of the subject, what is important is not so much a detailed description of the circumstances and the moment when a particular thought first flashed upon the founders, or an idea of genius was born, or when they made their first notes for themselves in their working entries (which is extremely significant in research on Marx, Engels and Lenin as thinkers). The main thing is to show when and in what form the thought was embodied in their works (the article or document, their theses and speeches, and even in their letters), and when and how a given idea was included in the sphere of ideological life and struggle and began to play an effective role. Therefore, while dwelling, when necessary, on preparatory, unfinished and unpublished works or work not intended for publication, mainly the unfinished and unpublished works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, historians of Marxism-Leninism strive to imprint primarily the stages in the movement of theoretical thinking.

One very important feature of Marxism-Leninism is the organic link, unity and fusion of scientific theory and revolutionary practice. Marxism-Leninism is distinguished in a fundamental way from the theoretical systems of the past and the present precisely by its actuality, activeness and purposefulness and by the fact that it is not simply a world outlook and a system of views on the world but a theory of struggle, of the transformation of reality, of living leadership for action. Herein lies the very meaning of Marxism.

Marxism-Leninism is not only a world outlook and direction in social thinking but also a social and political movement. In Marxism Lenin emphasized "the unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary policy, that unity without which Marxism becomes Brentanism, Struivism or (Zombartism). The doctrine of Marx is one indivisible, whole theory and practice in the class struggle." (5)

In the history of Marxism-Leninism it is thus impossible to be limited to research merely on theoretical thinking and its formation, development and subsequent concretization. It is also essential, using specific material from history, to reveal the very important proposition of Marxism that "theory becomes a material force as soon as it is mastered by the masses." (6) Therefore, this work also elucidates in general terms the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas in the masses and reveals the general law-governed patterns of this process.

The spread of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism expresses an objective historical need. The maturation of the class consciousness of the proletariat during the course of and from the experience gained in its class struggle prepares the ground for the spread of the ideas of scientific socialism and their adoption and assimilation by the masses. At the same time the spread of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism is not some random process. It takes place as the result of the collective efforts and purposeful activity of the proletarian parties and organizations, which bring the dialectical materialist world outlook and scientific socialism to the working masses, setting forth their ideas in their publications and in verbal propaganda, explaining and developing them and applying them in the specific conditions of the class struggle by the



proletariat, uniting them with the workers' movement, implementing them and defending them in the ideological-political struggle against open and hidden enemies.

This is why the history of Marxism-Leninism contains information on how the Marxist direction was established in social thinking, how Marxist organizations and workers' and communist parties were formed in various countries, and how they became ideologically mature and were tempered in the struggle against their adversaries, and how the vital links with the masses were strengthened and how their struggle was lit up with the light of Marxist-Leninist ideas. This makes it possible to reveal the general law-governed patterns in the spread of Marxism-Leninism and to show the features of this process at different historical stages and in different countries. For this it was important to make a careful analysis of the reflection of Marxism-Leninism in the programs and other documents of the proletarian parties that defined their policies. One graphic indicator of the strengthening links between the parties and the masses and the influence of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism on the masses is the growth in the ranks of the communist parties and the entire international communist movement. In this connection importance is also attached to the means available to parties to propagandize Marxism-Leninism (newspapers, journals, publications), and accordingly it was necessary briefly to characterize their literary and publishing activities and point out the Marxist men of letters and the outstanding theoreticians and propagandists of Marxism-Leninism.

Of course, this in no way means that in the summary, generalizing work on the history of Marxism-Leninism the task was set of reproducing (even in a very compressed form) the history of the international workers' and communist movement and the history of the building of socialism. The history of Marxism-Leninism has its own approach, its own aspect in assimilating and elucidating historical material. Here, specific historical material is drawn upon strictly as required, and is used to show, first, that Marxist-Leninist theory is developed on the basis of analysis and consideration of living reality and revolutionary practice; second, the effectiveness of Marxist-Leninist theory and its transforming and creative role; and third, that revolutionary practice serves as a criterion for the validity and viability of theory and induces it to tireless creative development and improvement.

The spread of Marxist ideas and their influence on revolutionary practice, and the unification of scientific socialism and the workers' movement make up a complex process. At each historical stage this process has its own special features, not to mention the unique features in each country, all associated with the conditions in the development of the struggle for emancipation by the proletariat. It is quite obvious, for example, that the scales of the spread of the ideas of scientific communism and the concrete forms in which this spread took place and the degree to which these ideas influenced those involved in revolutionary struggle have not been the same throughout the entire history of Marxism-Leninism.

This is why it is necessary from the standpoint precisely of the history of Marxism-Leninism also to elucidate the general law-governed patterns in the process of the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas in the masses and the

unification of scientific socialism and the workers' movement in general during the main stages of historical development, with due consideration of the special features of given regions and countries.

Thus, creating a history of Marxism-Leninism is a complex scientific problem standing at the interface between the historical, philosophical, economic and other social sciences, and it requires for its implementation collective creative efforts by social scientists in various scientific disciplines.

It is understandable that comprehensive research on and elucidation of the history of Marxism-Leninism as a unity of scientific theory and revolutionary practice required a correct determination of the relationship between theoretical and concrete-historical material and the search for a way to present this material in proper proportion and to develop an appropriate structure for the scientific work.

It was this approach to the task that also determined the nature of the work "A History of Marxism-Leninism." Here, the complexity was in finding a standpoint while elucidating the development of Marxism-Leninism in unity with revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice. Here, together with the main aspect in resolving the task from which it was necessary to start, attention was also paid to the circumstance that in the USSR a number of other multiple-volume publications have appeared connected with the history of Marxism-Leninism--"The History of the CPSU," the work entitled "The International Workers' Movement (Questions of History and Theory)," and studies on the history of Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

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The overall concept adopted to realize within the six-volume work a systematic history of Marxism-Leninism includes, along with the substantiation of its subject matter, a number of methodological principles and considerations.

First of all there is the dependence of the development of propositions and principles in Marxism-Leninism on economic and other social relationships that make up the material foundation of the ideology, on the development of the class struggle, which is the axis of political life in a capitalist society, and on the maturity of the workers' movement and the activity of the communist parties. Marxism-Leninism is developed in association with fundamental transformations in the socioeconomic order of society and changes in its political organization and qualitative shifts in the development of a socialist society.

Marxism-Leninism is linked organically with the natural and social sciences and is a legitimate successor to the best and most advanced in the centuries-long human culture. Consequently, Marxism-Leninism reflects the process by which it assimilates the achievements of world culture and leading social thinking and the dialectical materialist generalization of revolutionary advances in the natural and social sciences, and it shows it to be a powerful tool in the cognition of reality.

Marxism-Leninism organically embodies the unity of scientific theory and revolutionary practice and the processes involved in scientific cognition and the revolutionary transformation of the world. The history of Marxism-Leninism reveals this dialectic of theory and practice, showing that revolutionary theory illuminates the road of revolutionary practice with the light of science and knowledge and arms it with a clear understanding of the aims of and prospects for its movement, imparting confidence and raising it up to a higher level. In turn, revolutionary practice enriches revolutionary theory with new experience gained in the history of the revolutionary movement in general and the class struggle of the proletariat in particular, and with the experience gained in the building of socialism; and it acts as a base and criterion for the validity of the propositions and conclusions of Marxist-Leninist theory, requiring concretization and renewal of them in new historical conditions, and also clarification and improvement.

As an international teaching Marxism-Leninism has accumulated in theoretical form everything of value that has occurred in the struggle by the proletarian masses in all countries, making the gains of workers in each country accessible to the entire fighting international proletariat. The ability to reveal all that is significant and permanent in the movement of the working class, and the international trends and general law-governed patterns of the revolutionary process, and on this basis to develop and perfect proletarian strategy and tactics, taking into account the special features of different countries; this is what Marxist teaching has done as an organizing and transforming force. It was precisely in this sense that Lenin talked about Marxism as a scientific synthesis of the experience of revolutionary actions and efforts by the popular masses themselves, first and foremost the proletarian masses, and as the theoretical expression of this experience. In his book "The State and Revolution," which elucidated the development of Marxist teaching on the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat on the basis of an analysis of the revolutionary events of 1848 and 1871, he wrote the following: "Here too, as always, the teaching of Marx is a summing up of experience, illuminated by a profound philosophical understanding of the world and a rich knowledge of history." (7)

One methodological principle in building a history of Marxism-Leninism is also the materialistic understanding of the role of the popular masses and of the individual in history, and the relationship between the masses, class, party and leaders, and the link between the revolutionary practice of the working class and the theoretical activity of its ideologists. In line with this principle, this work also shows the activity of the theoreticians of Marxism. Great importance attached to elucidating the organic connection between, and priority of the ideas and activity of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and the theoretical tenets and practice of the CPSU and other communist parties and the contemporary international communist movement, as sealed in the decisions of party congresses, the congresses of the Comintern, and the international conferences of communist parties.

The work that has been published reflects the law-governed pattern in the steady growth of the role of collective theoretical thinking in the development of Marxism-Leninism, showing that in the age of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, as the world revolutionary process



develops, increasing importance is attached to the theoretical activity of the communist parties and their congresses and leading organs; and the significance of the collective efforts of the fraternal parties and of the entire international communist movement grows in generalizing new revolutionary experience and comprehending the new trends and phenomena in the life of society, in joint work on the urgent problems of scientific communism and the unified strategy of revolutionary struggle, and in the creative development of all aspects of Marxism-Leninism as a unified international teaching.

Marxism-Leninism is the theoretical foundation of the world communist movement. Therefore is a fundamental significance in revealing throughout the entire historical development of Marxism-Leninism its international essence and international nature and the applicability of its fundamental propositions and conclusions to all countries in order to determine the historical destinies of and prospects for all peoples and all mankind.

The work reveals the efficacy of Marxism-Leninism and its great power as a transforming influence on the workers' and revolutionary movement and on practical work in the building of socialism and communism, and it shows the steady growth of its influence on social life, revolutionary processes and all world development.

This six-volume work on the history of Marxism-Leninism is an historical-theoretical study. While consistently realizing the principle of the historical method and following the periodization adopted, at the same time it embodies the methodological principle of the unity of the historical and the problem-logical in research and in presentation of the history of the subject. This has determined the need and expediency of turning extensively (at boundaries when a significant upsurge has occurred in the workers' movement or a qualitative shift in the development of a particular idea) to the problem-oriented examination of questions of theory and revolutionary practice, and to a generalized elucidation of the level of work on a theoretical problem and in development of the workers' movement reached within a particular period, relying on all the works written by Marx, Engels or Lenin during that period. This circumstance has also been reflected in the structure of the work and in the naming of its chapters, sections and paragraphs.

This work graphically demonstrates the creative nature and innovative spirit of Marxism-Leninism and its principled hostility toward any kind of dogmatism or stagnation in theoretical thinking. "We in no way regard the theory of Marx as something final and inviolable," Lenin wrote. "On the contrary, we are convinced that it has merely laid the cornerstones of that science that socialists must move further along all avenues if they do not want to be separated from life." (8)

This work shows that Marxist-Leninist theory is vital precisely because it constantly takes into account and reflects and generalizes theoretically all that is new in the development of nature and society, and is enriched with new scientific data and discoveries and new experience gained in the revolutionary movement and the building of socialism. It is the innovative spirit of Marxism-Leninism that determines its clear-cut link with the present and the



trends into the future and makes it a reliable guide for revolutionary action. At the same time the creative nature of Marxism-Leninism necessarily assumes the unshakability of its fundamental principles, which have already shown in practice its validity and are being constantly reaffirmed and more deeply and more comprehensively substantiated.

One principle in the scientific history of Marxism-Leninism is research into its development in the process of the struggle against bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology and all its manifestations in the social sciences, politics and ideological life. Pointing out that Marxism has also been tampered in the struggle against such varieties of bourgeois ideology and petty bourgeois socialism, this integral history of Marxism-Leninism serves to unmask present-day attempts to revive in new form the various kinds of pre-Marxian petty bourgeois socialism by presenting them as the "new" word.

The work subjects to principled criticism the attempts made by bourgeois ideologues and revisionists to revise and distort Marxism and separate out its component parts--philosophical, political and economic and scientific communism--and to set the views of the classics of Marxism-Leninism on particular problems one against the other, the "early" Marx against the "late" Marx, the views of Marx against the views of Engels, the teaching of Marx and Engels against the teaching of Lenin, and to depict Leninism as some kind of supposed exceptionally Russian national phenomenon, as "the Russian interpretation of Marxism." The real history of Marxism-Leninism reveals the scientific unsoundness of assertions about the inevitability of "pluralistic" trends in the development of Marxism, supposedly leading to the emergence and coexistence of different versions.

The work on the history of Marxism-Leninism has been written from the standpoints of militant party-mindedness; it illuminates the uncompromising struggle by the workers' and communist parties against old and new forms of manifestations of bourgeois ideology and against anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist views in the workers' movement.

The scientific history of Marxism-Leninism not only investigates its emergence and development at various stages but at the same time propagandizes it as a system of ideas, convictions and principles that in their aggregate make up the communist world outlook. Accordingly, this work on the history of Marxism-Leninism is designed for extensive ranges of party and soviet workers, propagandists, teachers and students.

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During preparation of the history of Marxism-Leninism, its periodization, inseparably linked to the main periods of the international workers' movement and world history, was worked out on the basis of Leninist ideas and principles.

In the final analysis the basis for the periodization in the history of Marxism-Leninism is the socioeconomic development of society. But the role of this objective factor cannot be interpreted in a rectilinear fashion. Because of the relative independence of the ideology, the stages in the development of

Marxism-Leninism do not match periods of socioeconomic development, which, notwithstanding, remains the basis for periodization of any social process. Recognition and consideration in ideological form of the changes taking place in a society's economic system sometimes lags behind the social reality and economic development.

Accordingly, when establishing the periodization for the history of Marxism-Leninism, Lenin operated not so much on stages in economic development as on decisive historical events, primarily revolutions, in which real changes in economics, politics and social awareness were most clearly manifested, expressed and consolidated. "Stages such as October 1905 and February and October 1917," Lenin noted, "are of worldwide-historic importance." (9) Social revolutions are key points in the history of society and serve as the main boundaries in the periodization of the scientific history of Marxism-Leninism because, as already stated, its subject matter is not only the development of Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking but also the unity of scientific theory and revolutionary practice.

The entire history of Marxism-Leninism is divided into two great eras, from the emergence of Marxism to the victory of the first proletarian revolution in Russia in 1917 and the breach in the front of world capitalism, and from the Great October Socialist Revolution down to our own times. This stage continues. This division stems from the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism as the scientific expression of the worldwide-historic mission of the proletariat and as the guide in the communist transformation of the world.

Since the victory of the Great October, which has been the main event of the 20th century, it is not only revolution but primarily the development and consolidation of the bulwark of the world revolutionary process--real socialism--and its transformation into a world system that have been the key points in the history of society's development and the development of the international workers' movement and Marxism-Leninism. While still a weapon used to storm the old order, Marxism-Leninism has at the same time become the scientific basis for fundamental creativity and the guide for building the new society and shaping socialist social relations. The relationship between objective conditions and the subjective factor in historical development has altered significantly.

Of course, even before the victory of the proletarian revolution the subjective factor played an important role in the revolutionary movement to the extent that political leadership in the workers' movement stemmed correctly from the objective conditions, which are of decisive importance in all periods of historical development. With the victory of the socialist revolution the communists gained the opportunity, by proceeding from historical need, to influence more purposefully and in a planned manner the course of social development and deliberately transform social relations and define the urgent needs and objective trends in society's development and in line with this, to direct social processes in an organized way. The role of the subjective factor in history thus grows enormously.

This all determines the main boundary for the periodization of the history of Marxism-Leninism.

Within the limits of each era two qualitatively different stages are distinguished:

--the formation, development and spread of Marxism in the era of premonopoly capitalism (from the Forties in the 19th century to the start of the 20th century);

--the establishment of Leninism as a further development of Marxism and the development and spread of Marxism-Leninism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution (the Nineties in the 19th century to October 1917).

The post-October era is one of the revolutionary rout of the capitalist order, the socialist transformation of the world, the further all-around development of Leninism and the triumph of Marxism-Leninism. Two major stages are distinguished here:

--the development, spread and realization of Marxism-Leninism in conditions of the general crisis of world capitalism, the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the building of socialism in the USSR, the emergence of socialism beyond one country and its transformation into a world system (October 1917 to the early Fifties of this century);

--the development, spread and triumph of Marxism-Leninism in conditions of the growth and consolidation of the world socialist system, the struggle between the two social systems in the world arena, the breakup of imperialism's colonial system, and the further development of the world revolutionary process (from the early Fifties to the present).

The major historical stages can be divided into smaller units of periodization.

Thus, the first pre-October stage (from the Forties in the 19th century until the start of the 20th century) is made up of several periods that are distinguished by Lenin in his articles "The Historical Fates of the Teaching of Karl Marx" and "August Bebel" (1913). Lenin's periodization relates to the development not only of Marxist theoretical thinking but also the history of Marxism in the broad sense, that is, Marxism taken in the unity of scientific theory and revolutionary practice.

According to Lenin's periodization, following the period of the formation of Marxism in the 1840's, which culminated in the creation of the "Communist Party Manifesto," there was the period of the development and spread of Marxism and its affirmation in the workers' movement under conditions of the ascending development of capitalism and in a "period of storm and revolution." It covers the period 1848-1871--from the bourgeois revolutions in the countries of West Europe to the Paris Commune.

This gave way to the relatively "peaceful" period 1872-1904, when Marxism gained total victory in the socialist workers' movement and was spread far and



wide, when the mass socialist movement was consolidated and the proletariat rallied its forces and prepared for the coming revolutionary battles, and when premonopoly capitalism grew into imperialism.

These three periods in the history of Marxism-Leninism were followed by the period of the establishment and development of Leninism (which became the post-October era).

During the post-October era the first historical stage (October 1917 to the early Fifties) is divided into two periods.

The first period covers the development, spread and realization of Marxism-Leninism under conditions of the general crisis of world capitalism, the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the transition from capitalism to socialism in the USSR (October 1917 to 1937). The second period covers the development, spread and realization of Marxism-Leninism under conditions of the consolidation and development of socialism in the USSR, the second stage in the general crisis of capitalism, the development of the world revolutionary process and the emergence of the world socialist system (1937 to the early Fifties).

The second post-October stage includes the development, spread and triumph of Marxism-Leninism under conditions of the existence of the world socialist system (from the early Fifties to the present).

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In line with the periodization adopted, the first three volumes of "The History of Marxism-Leninism" deal with the pre-October period, and the next three the post-October era. Here the first two volumes cover the history of Marxism in the 19th century, the third volume the pre-October period of the Leninist stage in the development of Marxism, the fourth and fifth the history of Marxism-Leninism from the Great October to the formation of the world socialist system, while the sixth volume deals with matters to the present. It is also intended to prepare a special volume dealing with historiography in the history of Marxism-Leninism.

During the process of realizing the project it was necessary to develop and carry out a new type of scientific investigation in which the method and theory of Marxism-Leninism were applied to the study and building of its own history. Because of the complex nature of the task, which together with a continuous presentation of development in all the component parts of Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking also envisaged an elucidation of its spread, unification with the workers' movement, its influence on the world revolutionary process and its embodiment in real socialism, "The History of Marxism-Leninism" involved as authors, editors, consultants and reviewers a broad range of Soviet social scientists from various scientific disciplines--specialists in the history of philosophy, political economy and scientific communism, historians of ethics and aesthetics, scientific atheism, the history of the CPSU, the history of the international workers' and communist movement, general history and so forth.



The work is a publication of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time specialists from the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, a number of USSR Academy of Sciences humanities institutes and the Moscow and Leningrad universities were involved in its preparation. This helped to mobilize and unite the scientific efforts in a collective work that is complex in nature, and to make full use of the knowledge accumulated in science, and also experience in systematic presentation.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The main editorial board is made up as follows: A.G. Yegorov (chairman), M.P. Mchedlov (deputy chairman), S.S. Volk, L.I. Golman, M.T. Iovchuk, V.P. Naumov, T.I. Oyzerman, V.Yu. Samedov and V.F. Tsaga.
2. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 1, p 339.
3. Ibid., Vol 18, p 346.
4. Ibid., Vol 20, p 128.
5. Ibid., Vol 14, p 375.
6. K. Marx and F. Engels. Works, Vol 1, p 422.
7. V.I. Lenin. op. cit. Vol 33, p 29.
8. Ibid., Vol 4, p 184.
9. Ibid., Vol 36, p 202.

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POLISH BOOK ON MARXIST-LENINIST SOCIALIST REVOLUTION REVIEWED

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 (signed to press 15 Dec 86) pp 218-225

[Review by R. Yanovskiy, doctor of philosophical sciences, of book "Spor o marksistskoy teorii revolyutsii" [The Controversy about the Marxist Theory of Revolution] (in translation from the Polish) by Marian Orzekowski, Moscow, "Progress," 327 pages]

[Text] In this book the eminent Polish Marxist historian Marian Orzekowski offers a constructive theoretical discourse on the very complex problems of social development and the ways and forms of the transition from capitalism to socialism and the law-governed patterns in the building of a new society. Many vital contemporary problems are considered and analyzed by the author through the prism of the sharp polemic with A. Schaff, a former member of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] who set out on the road of revisionism, speculating on the new social realities and the complexity of the world revolutionary process, primarily the problems of the transition to the new social order and the law-governed patterns in its function and development.

In-depth analysis and boldness in the presentation and consideration of an extensive range of the most urgent and complicated problems of the world revolutionary process, including the building of socialism in Poland, make M. Orzekowski's book a notable phenomenon in the contemporary Marxist literature. The creative, scientific approach to elucidation of Leninist theory on social revolution in action and the social and political tasks resolved by the PZPR in circumstances of a difficult struggle against class and ideological enemies reflects the breadth of thought, keen thinking, principledness and party conviction of the author.

In his book M. Orzekowski commences with a well-argued criticism of the views of Schaff, who claimed that "the contemporary Marxist concept of socialist revolution" was in his, Schaff's, interpretation "true Marxism." However, Schaff's manipulations citing K. Marx and F. Engels and his "arguments" and "original" answers failed to explain the essential nature of the very important revolutionary problems of the age and served only to distort the theory of scientific communism, the practice of the revolutionary process and the historical experience and achievements of real socialism.

The author of the book shows how in his "research" Schaff juggles with the facts and falsifies the work of the classics of Marxism-Leninism: first, they

The author of the book shows how in his "research" Schaff juggles with the facts and falsifies the work of the classics of Marxism-Leninism: first, they are absolutized and whole concepts are artificially split down into their individual propositions and fragments; which is itself incompatible with the scientific methodology; second, evaluations and categories are ascribed to the classics of Marxism-Leninism that are simply not in the original text.

In the book Marxist-Leninist theory on socialist revolution serves as the point of departure and the main field for the ideological battle against Schaff's revisionist constructs; and this, of course, is not happenstance. It is precisely this theory that is the cornerstone of scientific communism and the foundation upon which the new world is being built. And hence the desire of the enemies of socialism to divorce it from its theoretical base and show the "nonscientific nature," "incorrectness" and "unsuitability" of Leninist theory on the revolutionary movement is understandable.

M. Orzekowski's book reveals the dogmatic approach and essentially counterrevolutionary nature of Schaff's peremptory assertion that everything that has been won in the world by socialist revolutions has been "incorrect" and quite "voluntarist," without consideration of objective conditions and subjective factors. As the author points out, Schaff sees the source of all "distortions" in real socialism in the "original sin" of socialism, that is, in the "prematureness" and "lack of preparedness" of the revolutions that have been made. He attaches special importance to the proof of "original sin" and involves Marx and Engels in this. M. Orzekowski notes that according to Schaff, the Bolsheviks in Russia and the proletarian parties in a number of other countries supposedly did not even have the right to mention revolution until they had complied with Marx' and Engels' demand that production forces should be appropriately developed.

Relying on the works of the founders of scientific communism the Polish scholar convincingly refutes the opinions of the latter-day theoretician on the "immaturity" or "maturity" of conditions for the transition to a socialist society. Schaff operates only with economic formulas while Marx and Engels distinguished as the criterion for maturity a whole set of phenomena that ultimately determine the level of development of production forces. "The development of production forces, production relations not corresponding to these forces, the development of the classic contradictions and their level and the degree of strain"; these make up the classic triad according to Marx and Engels, and it is within this framework that the question of the maturity or immaturity of a country for socialist revolution and socialist transformations should be considered; thus writes M. Orzekowski (page 92).

The "original sin" of real socialism, which is the leitmotif of Schaff's criticism of the new world, is in fact a rehash of the long known attacks by the adversaries of Marxism that in their time were soundly debunked by V.I. Lenin. This is how he posed the question: "You say that a sense of the civilized is essential in order to create socialism. Very well. But why could we not first create these prerequisites for a sense of the civilized, such as driving out the landowners and driving out the Russian capitalists, and then start the movement toward socialism?" (1) It is not happenstance that the logic of the contemporary class struggle within any given country

that is creating socialism, including Poland, is still determined in its development by the entire aggregate of both international and domestic factors.

As a brilliant example of the creative nature of Marxism M. Orzekowski cites Lenin's evaluation of the revolutionary situation in the world, a situation that changed on the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution literally over the course of only a few months. Depending on the objective course of events in, say, April 1917, Lenin proceeded from the opportunities for a peaceful transition of power to the working class, while in July of the same year he already considered that form of transition impossible. The author of the book emphasizes in this connection that this kind of flexibility to achieve an ultimate goal is in no way a retreat from Marxist principles but on the contrary accords fully with the methodology of Marxist social cognition and political activity, and the very spirit of Marxism as a living, creative method of revolutionary transformations in society in line with the humanist ideals of the proletariat and of all mankind. This was precisely the kind of attitude fought for by the classics of Marxism, declaiming both against its use as a herbarium for ready-made recipes for any situation and against the absolutization and dogmatization of particular propositions uttered with respect to some other concrete historical reality. And this is precisely what Schaff and his fellow-thinkers try to do.

The Marxist Orzekowski immediately exposes the revisionist Schaff when the latter tries to make Engels a sentimental liberal utopian who allows only of peaceful ways and legal means to make revolution. This operation is quite hopeless, as the book points out by citing the words of Engels himself: "... for me as a revolutionary any means is suitable that leads to the goal, both the most violent and whatever may turn out to be peaceful." (2)

M. Orzekowski convincingly shows that not Marx, nor Engels, nor Lenin ever interpreted Marxism as a closed-loop theory insensitive to the pulse of the changing social reality. The book shows in a well-argued manner that the conditions for victory in a socialist revolution as formulated by Marx and Engels were not for Lenin, as a true revolutionary, immutable, some once-and-for-all prophecy, but were scientific predictions. In line with the spirit of Marxism, Lenin rejected the rectilinear interpretation of Marx' and Engels' foresights. The Polish scholar notes that in the foresights of the classics Lenin saw first and foremost their quintessential nature--the main direction for the development of society and its objective and subjective trends. According to Lenin, socialism as a goal possesses the motive force for human action (classes, social groups, organizations, mass movements), during the course of which the conditions also emerge for achieving that goal. These conditions, that is, the paths leading to the goal and the steps by which it is reached, could be different from those predicted by Marx and Engels. Lenin's thinking and activity was in accord with the spirit of Marx' foresight. The author shows that Lenin introduce much that was new into the theory of socialist revolution. On some issues Lenin's views differed from the views of the founders of Marxism but they were united by a single theory of socialist revolution; and it is therefore impermissible to contrast their views. Theoretically and methodologically the positions of Marx, Engels and Lenin were one.



With his superb knowledge of the sources and using specific examples and detailed references to documents, M. Orzekowski shows how the views of Marx and Engels were developed concerning realistic opportunities for making socialist revolution. He convincingly shows that the ways and means for achieving the great goal of a communist society were defined by Marx and Engels in principled form. They are in the nature of general laws on the development of human civilization and have been brilliantly confirmed by the entire subsequent course of history, in both the positive and the negative sense. In the positive sense, the author explains, because following these law-governed patterns has been the source of the permanent accomplishments and achievements of countries setting out along the path of socialist development, and in the negative sense because forgetting the objective laws has led ineluctably to failures and defeats.

The book draws attention to the growing interest in Russia shown year after year by Marx and Engels; the basis of this was the constant hope of revolution in that country and its very important role in future social upheavals. The founders of Marxism, broadly informed about the socioeconomic situation of the Russian state, the development of capitalism in Russia, the acuteness of class relations and so forth, considered that what had occurred was "one of those exceptional cases in which a small handful of people could make revolution, in other words, one small push would bring down the entire system, which was in very unsteady equilibrium." (3) Following Marx and Engels, Lenin brilliantly refuted all kinds of social-reformist conclusions about Russia's "unreadiness" for revolution, and completely razed the statements about the "incorrectness" of the Great October. M. Orzekowski shows in detail that Lenin's ideas were formed thanks to a sober analysis of an enormous number of factors taken in their interconnection and interdependence, and thanks to his profoundly scientific evaluation of domestic motive forces and the prospects for the development of many events, trends and phenomena.

With the conviction and revolutionary fervor of the communist the author of the book defends the October Revolution against accusations of "cruelty," and he writes of the incredibly hard conditions in which Soviet Russia initiated the process of revolutionary transformations, namely, industrialization, collectivization and the cultural revolution, after it had held out in the civil war and against the imperialist intervention. He also pays great attention to the debunking of Schaff's attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Schaff would totally and completely welcome a rejection by communist parties of the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat," M. Orzekowski writes (pages 145-146), and he shows that the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a key issue in the contemporary workers' movement and revolutionary socialism and most important and basic in the concept of revolution (Lenin). It is not happenstance that it has been at the epicenter of the ideological struggle since the end of the 19th century.

Along with criticism of the dictatorship of the proletariat as an essential condition for the leading class of the modern era to carry out its worldwide-historic mission, Schaff's main attacks are directed against the Leninist concept of the party of the new type. It is common knowledge that revisionists and bourgeois ideologues try in every possible way to prove the

needlessness and irrelevance to present-day conditions of Lenin's teaching on the vanguard role of the working class and to emasculate the revolutionary spirit of the political organization of the "grave digger of the bourgeoisie" and thus deprive the revolutionary movement of its sense of organization, strategic direction and tactical wisdom and doom it to deliberate setbacks and inevitable failure even when all other objective and subjective conditions are right for socialist revolution. The well-known variants suggested for the working class to replace the revolutionary party include the "filter" party and amorphous "political formations" with no class basis. Schaff personally is inclined to the variant of a party of the social-democratic type, with the free play of political forces, observance of the standards of bourgeois democracy and so forth. While he regards himself as a convinced Marxist Schaff tries to counterpose the Leninist type of proletarian party with the social-democratic parties of the age of Marx and Engels and he slanders the basic principles of the activity of the communist party, first and foremost its link "with the entire life of its class and through it the entire mass of the exploited." [4] Unmasking the unsoundness of the distortions of the role and place of the communist party found in Schaff's works, M. Orzekowski emphasizes that this link makes up "the quintessence of Lenin's concept of the proletarian party" (page 155), and he draws attention to the scientific nature and political importance of its activity as the leading and guiding force in socialist society, and to the loftiest of revolutionary-humanist meanings found in its responsibility to the people, and so forth.

The Polish scholar shows that dialectical completeness was inherent in Lenin's understanding of the party of the new type. Lenin demanded iron discipline for all party members, but at the same time permitted freedom of creative discussion, for which the ideological and political principles of the Marxist party formed an indestructible boundary. At the same time, the author notes, Lenin decisively refuted all kind of abstract formulas or opinions about democracy and centralism in general, and about discipline and freedom of discussion outside their specific historical context and divorced from the goals whose achievement this could benefit or hamper.

From principled class and Marxist-Leninist positions M. Orzekowski also reveals other methodological flaws in Schaff's evaluation of the party of the new type. Thus, Schaff regards the transient features resulting from the specific circumstances of a given historical period or temporary national conditions as the "patrimonial features" of the party. In exactly the same way Schaff declares that violations of the Leninist norms of party life are internally inherent and typical phenomena. Schaff would like to make the truly revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party a "democratic party of reform" and achieve "freedom to introduce bourgeois ideas and bourgeois elements into socialism." (5)

The unsoundness of these views and their unsuitability for accomplishing the revolutionary aspirations of the working class, and for its worldwide-historic mission, have been proven by history itself. The entire experience of the proletarian movement convincingly shows the objective conditionality of and vital need for the revolutionary party of the Leninist type. Only this party can unite revolutionary forces and focus revolutionary energy, and introduce

scientific Marxist-Leninist ideology into the workers' movement and be a true organizer of the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the exploiter system.

M. Orzekowski goes on to note that in addition to Leninist teaching, world socialism in general evokes particular hostility in Schaff. Schaff's accusations against real socialism are extremely stereotyped: "violation of objective conditions" in the transition from capitalism to socialism, and "voluntarist" treatment of social processes and, as a result, the supposedly "total deformation" of socialism. Exuding malice toward real socialism, the book notes, Schaff tendentiously holds up a magnifying distorting mirror that is focused on just one thing, namely, crisis phenomena. In this distorted view real socialism is seen as an aggregate of errors, misfires and retreats from theoretical principles.

With a good knowledge of the matter M. Orzekowski has refuted his adversary's inventions about real socialism and Lenin's plan for the building of socialism, which has become the apex in the development of Marxist-Leninist thought in the 20th century and is of permanent significance for the socialist prospects for mankind. And he has done this under the hard conditions of the fierce political struggle for socialism in Poland. In contrast to Schaff, for whom the difficulties of establishing a socialist society, both in Russia, which was ravaged by imperialist war and foreign intervention, and in Poland, which lived through fascist occupation, remain invisible, M. Orzekowski, as a patriot in his own socialist motherland and a communist-internationalist, defends the Marxist-Leninist understanding of history. In polemic with the renegade he also reminds him of the "prosaic" features of socialism, such as the liquidation of unemployment and poverty, the enormous economic progress, the unprecedented bourgeoning of the political activeness and spiritual culture of the masses, the new kinds of relations that have been established between classes and nations, and so forth.

The author focuses the reader's attention on the fact that Schaff has also "forgotten" that the history of socialism in Poland, and particularly contemporary events, has been a struggle for the present and the future of the people and a struggle for the victory of socialist ideals. Accordingly, M. Orzekowski writes, the first duty of every true communist and Marxist is to defend the accomplishments of real socialism.

Analyzing in his work the logic of Schaff's reasoning and his theoretical inadequacy and absurd attacks on real socialism, M. Orzekowski reveals the epistemological roots and social class bases of his concept. Here it is not simply a matter of methodological primitivism and political blindness. The fact is that no matter how ideologues like Schaff try to robe themselves in the toga of patrons of "true" socialism, their views reflect the class positions of that social force that is interested in undermining and liquidating real socialism and ultimately restoring capitalism.

On this plane M. Orzekowski's book makes a significant contribution in the uncompromising controversy with the political and ideological adversaries of scientific communism, and with the falsifiers of the practical building of socialism--and not only thanks to the careful analysis of Marxist-Leninist theory and the historical experience gained in implementing this theory in the



USSR. One of the most convincing proofs of the unsoundness of Schaff's ideas and of his fellow-thinkers is the presentation in M. Orzekowski's book of his thinking on the law-governed patterns involved in the establishment and development of socialism in Poland and the heroism of the Polish working class and all working people. The author's assessment of the status of and prospects for the development of Polish society over the past decades offers an honest and veracious analysis of the country's development and of the crisis situation in 1980.

Carefully analyzing the sources of the present problems and the history of the establishment of socialism in Poland M. Orzekowski decisively refutes the fabrications by those representing the Polish counterrevolution about the "original sin" of the revolution in Poland and the inappropriateness of socialism for that country, supposedly because of the special features of Poland's historical development and its national conditions and spiritual life. No matter how complicated the peripeteia of the struggle by the working class and its allies, and no matter how complicated and tortuous the path to socialism, no matter how many mistakes and retreats from Marxism-Leninism have occurred, the author is deeply convinced that none of this can cancel out the historical progress of People's Poland. M. Orzekowski convincingly shows that this progress is determined by socialism and the class struggle by the working class and the laboring peasantry under the leadership of the PZPR, while the difficulties and complexities encountered by the country are associated not with the "inappropriateness" of socialism for Poland but, on the contrary, with the inadequate level of the development of socialism with all its concomitant consequences in the sphere of mass consciousness and social views.

Mention must be made of a very important feature of social processes in Poland, one on which anticommunists both within the country itself and abroad speculate. We refer to those special features that have to do with sociopsychological processes and aspects of socialist transformations, including those features associated with the country's history and the features of the Poles' national awareness. These include the ingrained, old stereotypes of mass awareness, which hold back the process of improvement in the social atmosphere and ultimately Poland's socialist renewal. It is quite obvious that this renewal is inseparably linked to socialist internationalism and the movement toward a "socially just and normal" Poland (page 230). This appeal is being sounded out increasingly palpably in the country's spiritual atmosphere. But it cannot be accomplished without socialist internationalism, without the fraternal friendship of the peoples and parties of the socialist countries as one of the main principles of the contemporary activity of the PZPR.

The reader's familiarization with the political, economic and spiritual situation in Poland over the past decades, and the history of its social process enriches ideas about its revolutionary path to socialism and the seriousness and importance of the tasks of strengthening socialist foundations in all spheres of social life. M. Orzekowski's book is yet another convincing argument for the unsoundness of the assertions and conclusions of present-day revisionists about the "inappropriateness" of socialism for Poland.



#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 45, p 381.
2. K. Marx and F. Engels. Works, Vol 37, p 275.
3. Ibid., Vol 36, p 260.
4. V.I. Lenin. op. cit., Vol 41, p 187.
5. Ibid., Vol 6, p 9.

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## HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

### REFORMS NEEDED IN UZBEK HISTORICAL RESEARCH, TEACHING

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 13 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by R. Radzhapova, director of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History, under the rubric "Implementing the Resolutions of the 3rd Uzbek CP Central Committee Plenum: "It is Time to Repay Debts"]

[Text] The mistakes and gaps in the study of the history of the peoples of this republic were spoken of with alarm at the 3rd Uzbek CP Central Committee Plenum. The absence of fundamental works on ancient, medieval and modern history was pointed out. Mention was made of the publication of theoretically and methodologically poor works in which there was an idealization of the past and a movement away from class positions in evaluating certain historical events and individuals. The schematic presentation of the activities of the party in merging the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat with the national freedom movement during the period of preparations for the October Revolution was condemned. It was noted that little was said in the works about the perfidious role of the national bourgeoisie or about the counterrevolutionary essence of the Basmachi. The weakness of the study of the historical roots of traditions, customs and rites of the republic's population was emphasized. All of this attests to the unsatisfactory condition of the historical sciences, to the low level of effectiveness of their scientific cadres and to an actual stagnation of thought processes.

Unfortunately, the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History which has some of the leading scientist-historians within its walls, has lost its role as a scientific center. A rebuke was justifiably directed at it at a recent meeting of the republic's academy of sciences: "Nothing remains of previous glory. Studies on Uzbekistan's history have been broken up into divisions and sections of history of the working class, the peasantry, cities, ethnography and so forth, but there has been no study of the whole, stage by stage."

In answer to the criticism at the institute the first steps have been taken to correct the situation. The scientific council and party buro have developed a specific plan for the restructuring of the collective's activities.

The contemporary stage of development of historical sciences insistently dictates the reorganization of the institute's organizational structure. The new structure must correspond to the periodization of the history of the peoples which has been established. This will enable us, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist concepts, to begin research into the history of the peoples of Uzbekistan from ancient times to the present along economic, socio-cultural, socio-political and ethnic lines.

We must generalize the initial results of the developing process of accelerating social and economic development in society, discover the essence of restructuring and at the same time show that it is aimed at strengthening and developing the founding socialist principles confirmed as a result of the victory of October and of the building of socialism in the mid-1930's.

The study of the dynamics of socialism and research into the complex process of its transformation into communism continue to be topical in nature. The generalization of the historical experience of building, consolidating and improving socialism is nevertheless linked to finding a solution to a number of acute problems. First of all, this includes a rejection of the apologetics in the history of Uzbekistan during the 1960's to 1980's. The status of historiography of this period is cause for serious alarm--the fact content of many works is not adequate for the real development of the republic. The theoretical sections of the works do not correspond to the resolutions presented in party documents of recent times.

Also deserving of special attention is research into and generalization of the experience of the Great October socialist revolution, the building of socialism and the problems of the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The problems of completing the building of socialism and of the post-war development of the republic, one of the least studied periods, await thorough research.

We must bitterly verify that in recent years we have lost the taste for the study of the prerevolutionary past of our people, its ethnogenesis. Today the republic does not have specialists for a number of periods of ancient and medieval history.

The expansion of the source base remains a serious problem. The time has come to raise the question about increasing access to archival documents. Most important, we must eliminate sluggishness among scientist-historians in selecting research methods which limit the scientific search to a wittingly narrow, standard group of sources. Experience has already been accumulated in the central scientific institutions of the country on the use of computer information banks, which will enable us to study long-term processes. We need sociological studies in order to obtain information about contemporary processes.

The question of the training of scientific cadres is still another sore spot in the republic's historical science. The average age of doctors of science at the institute is 65, of candidates 51, and of department heads 66. Whereas in the country we see a tendency toward an age gap between leading and young scientists, for us the aging of all links of scientific cadres is

characteristic. In recent years only two individuals have defended their doctoral dissertations. The majority of scientific workers received their title of candidate or doctor of sciences 15 years ago. Plans for the training of doctors and candidates of science remain systematically unfulfilled.

Today we intend to actively utilize all resources for the training of scientific cadres: post-graduate study, internships in Moscow and Leningrad, methodological seminars, a more in-depth study of the creative laboratory of V. I. Lenin, discussions, the review and annotation of historical works and so forth.

In their own time (late 1920's to early 1930's) discussions on the problems of Marxist-Leninist methodology in historical science were an important event in the ideological and public-political life of the republic. Of interest to the scientific community was a joint scientific session on the history of the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan in the pre-October period, which was called on the initiative of the USSR Academy of Sciences jointly with the academies of sciences of union republics. Here the results of a long discussion on the social and political nature of the 1916 revolution as well as on the history of the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan during the epoch of socialism were presented.

All of these creative discussions were truly innovative in nature. In the course of these discussions there was a collective working through of the Marxist-Leninist evaluation of the nature and essence of many debatable phenomena and processes in Uzbekistan's history. Although such discussions still have not lost their scientific significance, in recent years the experience of carrying them out has been forgotten. Today questions such as the chronological framework for the origin of capitalist relations in Uzbekistan, the characteristics of the modern stage of development of socialist society, national relations within the USSR at the contemporary stage of development of socialist society and many others await collective discussion and the development of a single position.

In the near future we plan to organize extensive creative discussions on important historical problems.

In 1981 at the Institute of History we created a coordinating council, the activities of which until now have been limited to confirming doctoral and candidate dissertations, a function that is indisputably important but not the only one by far. Today the council must take other responsibilities upon itself: to encourage the concentration of creative forces, to eliminate separateness between institutes and representatives of other social sciences, and to carry out scientific conferences and symposia.

In the Institute of History work has now begun in the preparation of the eight-volume "History of the Uzbek SSR," which will include the periods from medieval times to the present. We are speaking about a basic publication that will deal with the most important discoveries made by archaeologists and with the achievements of anthropologists, ethnography, art, literature and historical science as a whole. We must write and publish a particularly crucial volume dealing with the life of the republic at the stage of improving



socialism, accelerating social and economic development and struggling to eliminate negative phenomena. The timely publication of the multi-volume "History of the Uzbek SSR" will become the constructive answer of the collective to the criticism voiced at the 3rd Uzbek CP Central Committee Plenum.

The implementation of the decisions of the plenum is a complex and multi-faceted task. But errors must be corrected, and they must be corrected without delay. The time has come to pay our debts to the people. Historical science must play its important role in the ideological-political work of the party as concerns the formation in the republic's workers, especially its youth, of a Marxist-Leninist world view and the teaching of patriotism and internationalism.

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## CULTURE

### ROLE OF EMIGRE WRITERS, 'REHABILITATED' AUTHORS DISCUSSED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Feb 87 p 4

[Article by G. Orekhanova, with insert by Lev Lyubimov, author of the book "Na chuzhbine" [In a Foreign Land]: "Draw Your Own Conclusions"]

[Text] Moscow resident M. Trepleva writes, "Explain to me please why there is such a stir about the name of V. Nabokov today. I have read his novel, 'The Luzhin Defense,' and found nothing staggering in it. I was even somewhat disappointed, because I thought..."

This is not the only question. Recently the editors have received many letters in which readers ask various questions on the occasion of the almost simultaneous appearance of a number of publications. We are speaking not only of the poems and prose of V. Nabokov but also about other writers and poets as well (N. Gumilev, V. Khodasevich, A. Averchenko) who have not yet been published or who have appeared extremely rarely. For this reason they are known primarily to literature specialists or to those who are interested in the literary process of the first half of this century in all of its complexity and contradictoriness. Naturally a lot has been said in our literary studies about each of the aforementioned literary figures. Thus if he wishes to, any reader may obtain the information that interests him.

But information is one thing, and the possibility of determining for yourself what a particular writer represents is something else. This is why I will touch on perhaps the main thing that is stirring our readers. We feel there is nothing improper in the fact that names that are new to many of us are becoming generally available to our readers. Marina Trepleva is right--there is no reason for the creation of any kind of "hoopla" or newspaper sensation. I also feel there is no basis for drawing any far-reaching conclusions such as that with the appearance of these publications there is a reevaluation of values or even a reorientation to "new" artistic heights from which we must judge native literary achievements. This type of opinion is also being expressed by readers, and expressed with a certain amount of alarm.

It is not without reason that one letter refers to Lenin's judgement of the work of Arkadiy Averchenko, a truly talented writer but one who, as we know, not only did not accept the revolution in our country but who also spoke out against it in his book, "A Dozen Knives Into the Back of the Revolution."

Let us remind readers that V. I. Lenin, who called Averchenko a White Guard embittered "almost to the point of derangement," noted:

"It is interesting to observe how the author's intense hatred gave rise to remarkably strong and remarkably weak passages in this highly talented work. When the author devotes his stories to a theme that is unknown to him the result is not artistic..."

"However, most of the book is devoted to themes which Arkadiy Averchenko knows well, which he lived through, thought about and felt. It is with striking talent that the impressions and moods of a representative of the old, landowner and factory-owner, rich, satiated and gluttonous Russia are presented."

In general, the figure of the writer is sufficiently complex and contradictory. Despite all of this, we are publishing Averchenko thanks to a large degree to Lenin's evaluation, which was made with cunning, with irony and even with sarcasm. At the end we find the following line: "Some stories are, in my opinion, deserving of reprinting. Talent should be supported."

Of course the aforementioned authors are deserving of critical analysis and a socially-precise appraisal (alas, this does not always accompany today's publications). This is the way in which we could act in this case.

But I felt that something else was more important--to answer the questions of Marina Trepieva and of our other writers not myself, but in the voice of Lev Lyubimov, who is more familiar with the topic. Who is he? He is the son of a hereditary nobleman, a student at the lycee at the time of the revolution, an emigre who returned to his homeland in 1949 after a 25-year absence and who then wrote the memoir "In a Foreign Land" about his life in emigration, which was published in 1957.

Here are some excerpts from the book by Lev Lyubimov in which I feel readers will find an answer to questions that are of interest them.

[Lev Lyubimov] The fates of 150,000 - 200,000 Russian people who found themselves in France after the revolution are extremely varied and often instructive. It is a kaleidoscope which brings together thrilling, extraordinary pictures, vagueness, amusing incidents, some successes, at times stubborn wills grieving about every impediment, and at other times, complete moral bankruptcy.

The emigrants boasted of Shalyapin, Rachmaninoff and Alekhin...

I met Alekhin quite frequently, we even used the informal "ty" [you] form with each other and from him or from common friends I heard a great deal which gave me the key to understanding his actions. Alekhin felt that he was not only the greatest chess player in the world, which he had every right to think, but also a person of great, all-encompassing intelligence whom it naturally befitted to tower above mere mortals...He was truly inspired when he talked about

chess, and if the person he was talking to was a foreigner he always emphasized that the highest chess culture was found in the Soviet Union.

Alekhin was, of course, a man of great passions, but the fact that he was in a foreign country, the fact that he knew he was not at home and that he could only be truly recognized in that "native home" about which Bunin wrote and at the same time a sort of faint-heartedness which interfered with his decisively recognizing the mistake he made in parting with his homeland--all of this broke him and deprived him of an internal support. In the novel, "The Luzhin Defense," V. Sirin writes, "Chess was pitiless. It held him and sucked him in. In this there was terror, but in this also was the only harmony he felt, for what else is there in the world besides chess? A mist, obscurity, not being..." When, already back home, I leafed through Sirin's novel, it seemed to me that perhaps Alekhin also painfully felt that only chess was capable of giving him the illusion of an actual full-blooded life abroad.

Sirin (Nabokov--the son of a cadet leader who was mistakenly killed in the early 1920's in Berlin by a Russian monarchist aiming for Milyukov) is a curious phenomenon. His first significant work ("The Luzhin Defense"), with its brilliant form and internal balance of philosophical-psychological themes created an uproar in emigre literary circles...But not finding in Sirin any genuine vitality, Kuprin made the following terse statement about him, "Talented windbag." Yes, Sirin was rebuked not without reason for his purely formal exercises. He moved stubbornly away from reality, played with shadows, sought ecstasy in the abstract and created not people but marionettes, a type of doll's theater of weird, mechanical passions. Most instructive is the fate of this emigre writer. In search of a more extensive creative base he moved to the USA and there, already during the war, he began to write in English. Nevertheless, he never did win wide recognition among Americans. It turned out that this master of the literary form was forced to use his hobby--he is a specialist in butterflies and does extremely authoritative research on this topic--for his material well-being.

It is not without reason that Bunin wrote, still in the 1920's: "A bird has a nest, an animal has a lair; How bitter it was for my young heart to bid farewell to my home as I left my father's house."

It seems to me that this great master was governed by arrogance, but of a more measured type and consequently, more comforting than that of Alekhin. This is why he was often haughty with regard to people and even to history; history was developing in a more complicated manner than he wished.

But in this regard, Vladislav Khodasevich was even more characteristic. This poet and Pushkin scholar, whose work is very well-known to Pushkin scholars, and author of an excellent monograph on Derzhavin, was firmly and categorically convinced that he was the last representative of the genuine Pushkin poetical tradition. Khodasevich was a literary critic for VOZROZHDENIYE (an emigre literary publication--Editor). He favored me with his attention and I liked to talk to him because his intelligence and knowledge were extensive. But I, as well as others who knew him, was surprised by his peevish self-confidence and unhealthy worship of his own



"ego." This weak, irritable person with his emaciated yellowish-grayish face lived with the haughty thought that he was the last great Russian poet.

He once explained to me whom we should consider to be the most eminent individual:

"What is higher than all else? Poetry. What is the most magnificent poetry of our times? Russian. Who is now the greatest Russian poet? I am. Draw your own conclusion." Although he said this with a smile, he was not joking.

Khodasevich died not too long before the war. In contrast to Bunin and Kuprin, Shalyapin and Alekhin, he did not feel melancholy because he lived in fictions without recognizing that the individualism that he advocated impoverishes and locks in his poetical potential. He felt good in "his own juice" because he did not know genuine scope. The broad circles of emigres heard little about Vladislav Khodasevich...

...Seventy books of the emigre journal SOVREMENNYE ZAPISKI make up the basic literary heritage of those representatives of Russian culture who left their homeland following October. These books contain many excellent literary works (after all, Bunin, Kuprin and Khodasevich were published in them). The emigre reader found in them, together with a stubborn incomprehension of the new Russia, an aching sadness about the loss of the homeland...In the separation from their homeland it was only those writers who left Russia as great masters who were able to remain (and not always) at a level worthy of great Russian literature.

#### In Place of a Conclusion [G. Orekhanova]

Today neither Nabokov, nor Lyubimov nor Khodasevich are alive. Each one left his one mark on Russian literature. They were witnesses of revolutionary events in Russia which affected the course of development of the entire world and which forced the world to think about the true value of man's existence. "Our revolution is an extremely complex phenomenon; among the masses of its direct perpetrators and participants there are many social elements which also clearly did not understand that which had occurred, which also kept aloof from real historical tasks placed before them by the course of events," wrote V. I. Lenin in an article entitled, "Leo Tolstoy as the Mirror of the Russian Revolution." "And if it is a truly great artist who is before us, then he would have to reflect at least some of the essential aspects of the revolution in his work."

This opinion of V. I. Lenin concerning the artist can be applied equally to Nabokov, to Lyubimov and to Khodasevich. The revolution was reflected in their work as well, even if it was just to transmit the moral and spiritual condition of those people who did not accept the revolution and more importantly, who did not recognize its progressive tread. L. Lyubimov was able to understand that "the emigration was after all the emigration because it did not accept the revolution." I feel that his judgements as expressed in his book are fully convincing and that the reader can understand that the current publications in Soviet journals of the works of emigre writers does

not in any way cast a shadow over the pride we feel for our native Soviet writers: M. Gorkiy, V. Mayakovskiy, A. Blok, S. Yesenin, M. Sholokhov, K. Fedin, L. Leonov and A. Tvardovskiy. These publications simply underscore the degree to which the strength of our country, which is proclaiming its solicitous attitude toward any representative of Russian culture, has increased today.

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## CULTURE

### TV PROGRAM ON VYSOTSKIY ARGUES FOR RIGHT TO SPEAK OUT

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 27 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by Al. Avdeyenko: "The Right to Speak"]

[Text] Last Friday Vladimir Vysotskiy sang and spoke all evening on our local television station. It took 7 years for this meeting to occur. And I think that I was not the only one to pose a natural and elementary question: What was it in this recording that the individual who vetoed it objected to? It is difficult to answer such questions. Perhaps my answer will also be elementary--evidently, Vysotskiy himself, his individuality, and who he was were objectionable.

It is even more bitter today, listening to the voice and words of the singer, to realize how important it was for Vysotskiy to communicate with his listeners, how he wanted to be heard and understood. And how he hoped that he was not speaking to empty space but to those whose opinion he valued. He knew very well that his songs were being sung by the entire country, that their popularity was limitless. What was lacking? The right to be together with his works, the right to be whole, and the right to speak his words and not only those which were assigned by a role.

Perhaps the most valuable aspect of this recording is not just the songs, but the dignity of the artist, his conviction that he was working for the people. How important this is--to speak for yourself before commentators modify your words.

The broadcast itself is not just a reminiscence about the past but also a lesson for the future, and an especially obvious lesson for television. Today television is relearning to speak and the power of this public conversation is a hundred times stronger than any lobbying discussions, even if it is not possible to come to an agreement in the span of a television discussion.

For example, it is clear that the participants in a recent broadcast of "Twelfth Floor"--the enthusiastic supporters of old Moscow and those who are rebuilding it--did not find reasonable points of contact. Both sides allowed too much overstatement. Probably we cannot do without it in an argument. But where is the resolution of this discussion? It seems that there is a resolution judging by the fact that the advertised repeat of the broadcast was

not put on the air, but would it have been less beneficial if this resolution had taken place "in full view"?

Television began a very important series of broadcasts on the spiritual aspect of our life. This was the subject under discussion in the studio by Leonid Leonov and Yuriy Bondarev and the subject of man-on-the-street interviews. Try to formulate the concept of spirituality in a brief moment while standing at a crossing in front of an impatiently offered microphone! At the same time, how magnificent were some of the answers of passers-by and of students, who felt that it was important for television and that means for all of us to know what people are thinking about this topic. The thirst for candor--this already is the first step toward spirituality. It is no accident that the writers in the studio talked more not about acquisition of but about the loss of that which can and must elevate the life of man.

An honest look at the problem already marks a realistic approach to its solution. In its provocative broadcasts television awakens that community activeness with the aid of which it is possible to move any matter forward.

The right to speak is an enormous right. And the right to be heard is an even greater one. Leonid Maksimovich Leonov fervently remembered, in the last broadcast he participated in, how no one heard his personal warnings voiced many years ago about Lake Baykal and other ecological problems as well as about the loss of spirituality which we lament today.

Today television has many successful social and political broadcasts to its name, such as the series on meetings with teacher-innovators which shook the world of teachers and parents. There is a new approach to the discussion about young people and with young people. And the approach to publicism on the screen is altogether new, when the basic content of this concept is its public nature and it manifests itself above all else.

But I hope that television does not leave the phenomena it itself has brought to life, or its reflections on these phenomena at the half-way point. For example, the acute question of teaching in the schools still awaits an absolute resolution. What do the teaching and academic sciences think about this? What paths are open to the followers of Shatalov and Ilin? What paths are closed as before? Why? The extensive supply of new (and incidentally, why new? After all, innovative teachers have for years not been able to break through the barrier of antiquated instructions!) pedagogical ideas promulgated by television have found wide response among the public, and no one will be able to deal better with this response than television.

Appearing on the television screen are individuals who expand the horizons of our life's concepts. An individual will always have something to say. But all that is necessary is to be able to hear what is being said so as not to repeat old mistakes and not to make new ones in their stead.

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## CULTURE

### FILM ELICITS CONTROVERSY AMONG VIEWERS

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Feb 87 p 4

[Article expressing views of several film viewers followed by film review by A. Kuklin: "A Game or Retribution?"; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] A new artistic film, "Plyumbum, or a Dangerous Game," made by director V. Abdrashitov, with film script by A. Mindadze, has just been released. The film is pointed, disturbing to minds and hearts and the cause of disputes. Here is what occurred at one of the first discussions of the movie, in which people of very different artistic inclinations participated.

#### Cross of Opinions

One of the first to speak was psychologist Yakutovskiy. "In my opinion the film's hero is a sympathetic, attractive young man who undoubtedly will arouse in young people the desire to imitate him as a result of a number of his characteristics. I assess the authors' attitude toward his hero as follows: they created him, they plotted him, they painted him and then as if growing frightened, they decided to make him guilty in the death of the young girl. But I feel that the girl perished because of her own foolishness. In the film other people suffer as a result of their own actions. Plyumbum is convinced that everyone who lives impurely must be put on water rations ("You robbed the country," he says.).

Artists frequently set themselves the task of emphasizing one or another phenomenon. But they do not show how to struggle against it. In "Plyumbum" we are just shown a negative phenomenon that is sprinkled with "salt."

[Agranovich - an eighth grade student] Psychologist Yakutovskiy feels that people like this boy do not exist here. In my opinion, each school has one of these, and sometimes worse. I personally have had experience with this.

[Rudyak - an engineer] I am a mother and I have two grown sons. If we use teaching as a springboard it seems to me that we cannot take seriously everything that occurs with the adolescent on the screen. I think that a great deal occurs here in the imagination of Plyumbum and is provoked by his desire for self-affirmation. Why? He has run into unconcealed violence--his

cassette tape recorder was stolen. Plyumbum has been taught the lesson of cruelty. He reacts by imagining himself, brave and bold, performing heroic deeds. The fellow who took Plyumbum's cassette tape player crosses Plyumbum's path again. I feel that he is the real enemy and in my opinion this is the most frightening part of the film.

[Volozhina - a teacher] Some see a negative hero in Plyumbum, some a positive one. He is not a hero. If we speak about good, this is the same good which is morally contrasted with evil. This film forces us to think, are we ready to attack evil? Here in front of us we have a happy family which sings, "Let's join hands, friends."

[Churkina - an engineer] I read the plot of this film in the magazine ISKUSSTVO KINO and was bewildered. The main thing is: How long are we going to continue to engage in fault-finding? The producers of the film must have some sort of constructive position, after all! I did not see this authors' position in "Plyumbum." What do the film's authors plan to do next? After all, such truly talented masters such as Abdrashitov and Mindadze must have their own position. I do not feel that Plyumbum is a real, live character. But he is a phenomenon. Let's look at the origin of this phenomenon. I did not see this in the film either.

[Baranov - an engineer] I belong to that group of people who went to see "Plyumbum" out of respect for its creators, the creators of the movies "The Train Stopped" and "Parade of Planets." In "Plyumbum" I feel some type of powerlessness. I would like to ask the student here whether he needs a hero in life whom he can use as a moral role model? Pictures by masters such as Abdrashitov and Mindadze should not just be exercises in directing, they should create models for us to imitate.

[Maksimenko] This is not just a strong and magnificent film, this is a picture about where, when and under what conditions provocations arise as an anti-spiritual and social phenomenon. Evidently this occurs under conditions in which life and good are imitated. A boy like Plyumbum is on our screens for the first time. This is a movie about a child-provocateur and about the spiritual essence of provocation. Man is the central point of social relations. We were shown only a hero.

[Maksimov - a sociologist] A great deal has already been said about the film. One thing has not been noted, in my opinion, the boy is not alone! That which the creators of the film have shown is what things are like today. This is what the movie forces us to think about and this is the film's undoubted merit and value. The film is metaphorical and the metaphor corresponds to the essence of our lives.

[Tolstikov - an economist] Perhaps there is not enough good in the movie. But on the whole it teaches good and thus helps us to live. I do not agree with those who see an expression of hatred for mankind in this film. With all its cruelty the film is permeated with love for people. This is the main thing.

[Mirbayev - an engineer] It seems to me that this picture is not about school. It is about you and me. It forces us to think about whether we are sufficiently moral and pure to judge others. God forbid we act and judge people in the way that the film's hero does.

[Mikheyev] Real artists create according to their own laws. Abdrashitov and Mindadze create, having a full right to do so. And if in the process of the search exaggerations or indistinctions occur, this is forgivable.

#### Review by Film Critic [A. Kuklin]

I must admit that it has been a long time since a film that arouses such contradictory reactions has appeared on the screen. I have attended many discussions of the new work by director V. Abdrashitov and script writer A. Mindadze, "Plyumbum, or a Dangerous Game," and each time was surprised that the public that remains in the hall after the viewing soon divided into "groups"--those who enthusiastically accepted the film and those who just as decisively rejected it. It is interesting that those who were "for" the film were primarily the young and the old. Some of the representatives of the middle generation spoke about the film as a "distorting mirror." But perhaps there is no reason to blame the mirror?

...Upperclassman Ruslan Chutko, nicknamed Plyumbum, decides to help adults in the fight against social evil. In order to join the komsomol operations detachment he helps the police to find people involved in robbing of a tobacco kiosk, leads operations detachment members to the shelter for vagrants, and even stages something like his own "investigation" of economic crimes. The film begins as a semi-detective story about a young activist. But soon ironic notes creep into the fabric of the story.

Plyumbum's "game" is not very comprehensible to the leaders of the operations detachment. Although they make use of his services, they consider him to be a regular young boy who is in the thick of events only accidentally. Nevertheless, Ruslan foists himself on the group members and takes to the task with zeal.

Ruslan tells adults the truth about everything he sees without considering the fact that this truth may cause pain or trouble for someone. He sees injustice as the violation of "the letter" of truth. Like litmus paper, Plyumbum reacts to all distortions of the truth but does not think about the fact that truth does not exist in and of itself.

What does Plyumbum "react" to? First of all, to the duality of his own life. In school and at home Ruslan is a diligent student and an obedient and loving son. But in reality his "true" life is in the work of the detachment.

The adolescent's family also has a "false bottom," although the family appears to be a normal and happy one. But as we learn, external appearances are tricky. The family's long-term habit of show and hypocrisy, which is borrowed from popular songs, is excellently shown in the film. When Ruslan discovers his own father among a group of poachers and then draws up a report on him at

the police station, the main desire of the head of the family, caught red-handed, is that the mother not learn about his "second life."

At the same interrogation the father relates his biography to his son. It is a typical one--school, institute, and a gradual movement up the career ladder during the 1970's.

Here one involuntarily begins to think, is Plyumbum right in his unconditional desire to punish, even if his own parents are sitting on the defendant's bench? The formal answer is yes. But nevertheless, it is somewhat frightening to live with such children.

In the characters of the parents is concentrated a group portrait of those who are successful among people but who steal on the sly. They don't mind talking about "modern" subjects or showing their "high" ideals. In the evenings they idealistically sing B. Okudzhava's song, "Let's take each other's hands, friends." But the song rings with deadly irony.

The film's creators seem to be prompting us that the hero did not come into being alone. He developed within a specific family, a specific school, and under specific circumstances. It is generally known that adolescents carry within themselves in a particularly patent way the signs of the times.

Here is an episode which I feel is symbolic. Plyumbum gains the vagrants trust and spends time with them in the basement. Unexpectedly they hear music coming from somewhere. The entire group goes up to the gallery of a large hall and looks down, enchanted, at couples dressed in tails and ball gowns dancing an elegant and festive dance. The picture is like one from a fantasy film, regular people have dressed up, powdered their faces and with unnatural, false expressions they portray something that has nothing to do with reality.

In the entire film only one character can be called a positive hero who is "true" to himself and lives without the shadow of falsehood, and that is Sonya, Plyumbum's friend. She devotedly watches out for Ruslan, carries out all his orders and she is the only one whose acts are not calculated. But Plyumbum does not and cannot value the emotions in her; it is as if she speaks in a different language. For Plyumbum people are dolls, and Sonya is no exception.

According to his own words, Plyumbum is concerned with the search for truth and with the elimination of injustice. But is this really the case? After all, we learn that Ruslan is spurred not by this but by the desire for retribution, he was once robbed of his tape player. The adolescent joins the operations detachment because of his desire to find and punish the offender and at the same time all other "potential" offenders.

Then what does Plyumbum achieve? He wants to make sure that no one will ever be able to rob and hurt him. He wants to be able to force others to carry out his most unlikely desires. When the possibility arises, he becomes intoxicated by power and plays with it.



Some people rebuke the picture for the fact that it contains little good. But, permit me to say that from the commonly-accepted point of view Plyumbum's parents, the directors of the operations detachment and the adults who surround the main hero in general are good. We simply see this "good" through the eyes of Ruslan Chutko and because of this we feel slightly uncomfortable. Perhaps we should take a look around us with the adolescent's eyes?

In general, the film is replete with thoughtful reflection, with bitter but necessary analysis, a step toward comprehending and improving life.

Plyumbum's story is a warning to us all. Sonya perishes at the end of the film. She perishes because she is forgotten. With Sonya die perhaps the two most important things, love that purifies and the future.

Some people criticize the film for "balancing" on the border between realism and the grotesque. But this is done consciously and with great mastery! In my opinion, the style of the film, its cinematographic language, precisely answer the needs of the times. In the film a documentary style is interwoven with unlikely occurrences. This reflects both a striving toward a precise depiction of morals as well as dramatic art, brutal and rational, which counts on the fact that we will recognize the situation, and which is characterized by the faultless selection of actors, an almost parable-like conventionality and various levels of meaning.

In this new work by Mosfilm there is something that reminds me of another noteworthy film premier, the full-length documentary of Riga director Yu. Podniyeks, "Is It Easy To Be Young?" In one case the aesthetics of the film approaches the documentary style; in the other, the documentary style is raised to the level of generalization characteristic of an artistic cinematographer.

"Plyumbum, or a Dangerous Game," is a film that is difficult to understand and it requires an active effort by the viewer. I would like as many people as possible to see and think about this film. It is worth it.

Something has been lost in our contemporary adolescent, Ruslan Chutko, which perhaps can still be returned. But that is not only his, Ruslan's, task but that of all of society. That is probably the main conclusion to be drawn from this film.

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## SOCIAL ISSUES

### USSR, UKRAINIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES MEET ON PROBLEM AREAS

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNIYE NAUKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 (signed to press 15 Dec 86) pp 148-155

[Article by V. Kumanev, doctor of historical sciences and academic secretary of the Social Sciences Section of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and S. Pirozhkov, candidate of economic sciences and academic secretary of the Social Sciences Section of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, under the "Scientific Life" rubric: "Joint Session of Social Scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences"]

[Text] Questions in the organization and coordination of joint research in the area of social sciences in the light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress were examined at the joint session of the Social Sciences Section of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Social Sciences Section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (Kiev, 9th and 10th of September 1986).

Participating in the work of the session were V. Ivashko, candidate for membership in the Politburo of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; V. Ryabov, deputy head of the Science and Educational Institutions Section of the CPSU Central Committee; and F. Rudich, head of the Science and Educational Institutions Section of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Academician B. Paton, president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, opened the session. He stressed that it has become a fine tradition to carry out representative meetings of the scientists of the two academies to specify the strategy and tactics of joint scientific searches in the light of party principles. Having noted the tremendous importance of the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress for the understanding and resolution of problems in the development of our society in the dialectical unity of domestic and international aspects of this development--the building of communism and the strengthening of peace--the scientist pointed out the necessity of the comprehensive progress of Soviet science and of strengthening the union of natural, technical and social branches of knowledge in the interests of accelerating scientific-technical and social progress.

Academician P. Fedoseyev, chairman of the Social Sciences Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences and vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, analyzed the course of the restructuring of the work of the scientific institutions of the Academy and of strengthening their ties with life in the light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. The speaker noted that in the period after the congress the humanitarian institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences critically reviewed the results of their own work, outlined the primary measures to improve it, and specified the plans for scientific research in the direction of bringing them up to date and closer to the needs of social practice. The transition to a new system of certifying and remunerating the labor of scientists is being completed. Positive changes became apparent in the research of the institutions of the Economics Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the work of the institutes with an international profile was activated, especially in questions involving the struggle for peace and disarmament and in the analysis and propagandizing of the program put forward by the 27th CPSU Congress for the establishment of a system of general international security.

As P. Fedoseyev pointed out, the movement to restructure and activate the work in the area of philosophy is less noticeable. The recent decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" brings this to mind. The Philosophy Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences has not yet shown initiative in the vital problems of the day or in making broad use of specialists from different areas of knowledge in their development and discussion. The influence of philosophical work on social thought and social life is still quite insignificant. Nor are the sociological investigations on important questions in social development and social policy yielding any substantial results. The scientific institutions specializing in history have established a number of fundamental tasks. In historical research, however, there are still a lot of blank spaces and publications being released with little real content. Not much attention is being paid to the preparation of editions on national and world history intended for a large circle of readers. The scale of the study of the theory and history of culture, especially questions in Russian culture in the institutes of the Literature and Language Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is extremely inadequate.

In his speech, he pointed out that the academic press has still not restructured its own work in accordance with the requirements of the time. In particular, the journals with a humanitarian profile are making poor use of the divisions criticism and bibliography for influencing the updating of scientific studies and raising their theoretical-methodological level. Published reviews are frequently complimentary in nature or represent annotations. Not enough attention is being paid to the organization, together with the institutes, of fruitful discussions on current problems in the social sciences on the pages of journals.

P. Fedoseyev justified the necessity of significantly raising the level of scientific-organizational and coordinating work as a paramount condition for the restructuring of Soviet social science in accordance with party principles. A basic shortcoming in the organization of scientific investigations is that studies on broad subjects are carried out in an



amateurish and uncoordinated manner within the scope of separate small sectors and groups. Therefore, the results obtained are insignificant and the conclusions are superficial and without practical application. Nor does the level of coordination of research on a national or regional scale meet the new demands. Some academic scientific councils actually duplicate the coordinating work of the institutes. There has been a delay in the resolution of questions relating to the determination of the rights and obligations of the head institutions and to the regulation of a system of coordinating links between the institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the republic academies of science as well as nonacademic research centers.

In speaking of the necessity of uniting the creative potential of all Soviet social science at a new and qualitatively higher level, the speaker stressed the importance of the traditional broad cooperation between the humanitarian institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. This cooperation must now review not only the coordination of plans and the exchange of scientific results but also the conducting of joint research and the realization of special programs. Here one can make a broad application of such forms as the organization of temporary creative teams, long-term special practical experience by scientists from cooperating institutes on a reciprocal basis, and regular sessions of scientific departments, conferences and meetings of scientific councils of related institutions. The establishment of temporary laboratories in which representatives not only of academic but also of VUZ and sector science would work can be very effective.

P. Fedoseyev noted that a basic task of social scientists is the theoretical interpretation of new problems arising in the practice of acceleration. They include the dialectics of the development of socialist society in the current stage, ways of transition to its qualitatively new state, social aspects of the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, and the increased role of the human factor. Each of these problems requires the uniting of the efforts of philosophers, political economists, sociologists, jurists, historians and representatives of other areas of knowledge. Such a union also presupposes the improvement of the organization and coordination of research and a clearer determination of the functions of the base centers, main scientific institutions and scientific councils.

The academician also spoke out in favor of establishing at the national level a united coordination center in the area of social science, which would include representatives of the USSR Academy of Sciences, party science centers, university institutions and branch sciences. This body could examine the plans for joint research and the course of their fulfillment and the course of the introduction of scientific results into practice, analyze the status and level of the basic divisions of social science and the training of personnel, and make the appropriate recommendations. For the purpose of improving the coordination of research in individual branches of knowledge, one should single out head scientific institutions under which the corresponding coordination sections can be organized. In the union republics and in large regions of the RSFSR, it is desirable to establish interdepartmental scientific councils as sections of an All-Union coordinating center and also to single out head scientific institutions.



Of course, noted P. Fedoseyev, coordination cannot be replaced by regulations or reduced to the formal registration of current investigations. The main thing in this work is the identification of the most promising directions and methods of research and comprehensive help in carrying it out and in the practical utilization of scientific results. The core of true organic coordination as a form of integration of science is an in-depth study of the overall methodological problems in Marxist-Leninist theory.

In the incipient restructuring of Soviet social science, it is essential to ensure a harmonic combination of fundamentality and high quality of research with an operational response to practical needs. On the basis of a complex approach and a creative interpretation of new phenomena and processes, social scientists must provide a scientific foundation for the changes occurring in our society and help in the consolidation of socialism.

I. Lukinov, chairman of the Social Sciences Section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and vice president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, briefly touched on the achievements of the social scientists of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences during the years of the 11th Five-Year Plan. The program of scientific research was fulfilled in all divisions of social science and cycles of many-volumed works were established for economic, philosophical, historical and other sciences. The speaker noted, however, that in no way can we be satisfied with the results that have been attained, especially in the spirit of current demands. The work of each scientific team was analyzed critically and objectively in the light of the aims of the 27th CPSU Congress. It became clear that there is an obvious lagging behind the requirements of practical sociological research and work in the area of scientific information on social sciences. Despite substantial positive changes in a number of directions, the economic sciences are still not able to overcome their backwardness in the analysis of the political and economic aspects of intensive development. The investigations of the economics of industrial production and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress require further strengthening. Weak links have been discovered in the development of methodological questions in archaeological science. There is a serious lag in the scientific correlation of large-scale archaeological excavations and extraordinarily valuable findings. Not everything is so favorable in the search for and scientific utilization of new archival materials illuminating extremely important historic events. The quality of research on contemporary literary processes and other forms of the development of spiritual culture leaves something to be desired.

The revealed shortcomings and omissions, noted I. Lukinov, have not only been subjected to careful critical analysis. Constructive measures have been worked out for their elimination and it has already been possible to do much, uniting the efforts of institutes, scientific departments and the Social Sciences Section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in conjunction with party organizations. The putting into practice of the results of economic studies completed in the Academy has been legalized by including them in the plans for the economic and social development of the republic. A positive trend was noted on the part of the economic planning authorities of the Ukrainian SSR to involve social scientists in consultation and the development

of projects of global importance. Specifically it is a matter of such projects as, for example, the Danube-Dniester hydroeconomic complex and the spanning of the Dnieper-Bug estuary. There was an increase in the level of organization and coordination of research.

Whereas in the years of the 11th Five-Year Plan the republic's social scientists carried out investigations in 16 directions and on 72 problems, there are 20 directions and 83 problems being studied in the 12th Five-Year Plan. This will make it possible to expand the research front and to strengthen its ties with the requirements of social practice, as demanded by the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

The speaker said that a most important direction in the action of the republic's social scientists is their active participation in the work in the communist education of the masses. Humanitarians are called upon to help in the formation of a scientific world view and the moral qualities of the individual and in increasing the labor consciousness as well as self-discipline, a feeling of responsibility, and collectivism. In the Ukrainian SSR, a Complex Special Program for scientific research on current questions in communist education has been developed and is being implemented. Participating in the program are almost all the scientific institutions of the Social Sciences Section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences as well as republic ministries and departments involved in the educational process.

The scientists speaking at the session characterized the tasks and special features of scientific work in individual branches of knowledge and in the leading research institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. A number of general and fundamental questions were also raised for the determination of research priorities, the improvement of its quality, the strengthening of the link between theory and practice, and the improvement of organizational and coordinating work in the social sciences.

As was emphasized in the addresses, party documents orient social scientists toward an in-depth study of theoretically important and practically significant problems in the acceleration of the social and economic development of the country and the improvement of all aspects of life in socialist society. A new level must also be reached in the study of the course of world development and its forecasting.

Just as the speakers did, those taking part in the discussion paid a great deal of attention to the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Journal KOMMUNIST." It was emphasized that this document provides for a broad and developed program of research work by all groups of Soviet social scientists on vital questions of the day.

A significant place at the session went to the discussion of questions relating to the improvement of the personnel potential of science. It was pointed out that shortcomings in the training of personnel are one of the reasons for the weak connection between social science and life. It was noted in particular that the institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the

Ukrainian Academy of Sciences are still not providing adequate help to the universities in the training and retraining of social scientists.

The problems in increasing the efficiency of the research work of economists were characterized by academician A. Aganbegyan, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences L. Abalkin, member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences N. Chumachenko, and corresponding member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Yu. Pakhomov. They substantiated the conclusion that the role and responsibility of the economic sciences are increasing sharply in the current critical stage in the life of our society. In the light of the documents of the party congress, it is essential to take a new look at such key theoretical and practical problems as the interaction of productive forces and production relations, socialist property and economic forms of its realization, the utilization of commodity-money relationships, the combination of centralism with the independence of economic organizations, and a number of others. It was stressed that economic problems cannot be studied and resolved detached from social factors and from the individual, the basic principle. It is important to overcome the approach under which the analysis of technical and technological relationships prevails over social and economic analysis. It is no less important to overcome the abstract scholastic method, where conclusions are drawn not on the basis of the interpretation of living reality but only through the formation of speculative constructions. The economists of the academic institutes must take an active part in solving the problems in the conversion of enterprises and associations to complete cost accounting, self-supporting production and self-financing, in the establishment of up-to-date organizational structures for management while taking into account the trends toward concentration, specialization and cooperation in production, and in increasing the economic incentives of the working people for the better utilization and augmentation of national wealth.

Having gone into detail on the restructuring being carried out in the institutions of the Economics Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, A. Aganbegyan pointed out the expediency of further improving the organization and coordination of economic research. The leading economic institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences must strengthen the methodological guidance of the institutions of the republic academies, the system of higher education, and the sectors and departments.

The speaker noted that although an academic institute may have contacts with planning authorities, this does not mean that the institute has faced life. It is essential to study in depth and generalize the experience of the basic production units of the economy. It is necessary to work out and develop a system of new forms in the work of scientists in fulfilling the tasks of practical organizations, the establishment of temporary scientific teams, the organization of a network of permanent support points at enterprises, the sending of scientific expeditions to regions of new development, etc. What is needed is a systematic and extensive transfer of personnel from economic science to practical organizations and vice versa.

Academician A. Yegorov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. Shinkaruk, and doctors of philosophical sciences V. Ivanov and N. Lapin dedicated their speeches to current social and philosophical questions. They



pointed out the growing role of the human factor and, accordingly, of educational work for the successful realization of the strategy of accelerating social and economic development. They indicated that the advantages of socialism, including the advantages of socialist ownership, are not realized by themselves or automatically. Public ownership of the means of production unites people and educates them in the spirit of collectivism when the rank-and-file worker feels that he is the master of production and senses the direct link between his work and its results. It is thereby important to understand the complex mechanism of the formation of the personality and its consciousness and behavior. In studying and propagandizing what is progressive in the creative incentive of the masses and socialist competition, social scientists must not ignore negative social phenomena and processes. It is necessary to study in depth negative facts and their causes without waiting for them to become sufficiently massive.

Academician S. Tikhvinskiy and doctors of historical sciences I. Kuras and S. Khromov illuminated the tasks in Soviet historical and historical-party science. A vital and primary task of historians is the preparation of the work for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution at a high level. This work must show the permanent importance of the historical experience of the CPSU and the Soviet people and the interrelationship between the ideals of the Great October [Revolution] and the current course of the Communist Party.

The speakers brought up organizational problems, the resolution of which determines to a considerable degree the increase in the quality of research, the overcoming of petty themes, duplication and scholastic disputes, and the updating of the subject field. They pointed out the necessity of establishing clear order in planning and coordination (including the utilization of such a form as long-term complex special programs), of training highly skilled specialists, especially locally, of the shaping of the subject field of the country's scientific centers, etc. They stressed the urgency of the questions of expanding the documentary base of historical investigations and of increasing the possibilities for their prompt publication.

Academician V. Kudryavtsev and member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences B. Babiychuk told of the work of jurists in providing for the legal coverage of the processes of deepening socialist democracy and developing the political system of Soviet society as well as in improving the economic mechanism. They emphasized the importance of intensifying cooperation between jurists and economists. Particular attention was paid to questions involving the elaboration of legal norms regulating the interrelationships of science and practice and ensuring the broad use of the well-founded proposals and recommendations of social scientists in the national economy.

Corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Yu. Karaulov and corresponding members of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences I. Dzeverin and V. Goncharenko talked about the tasks of literary critics, linguists and art critics in enriching the intellectual culture of socialism and in strengthening the influence of science on linguistic, literary and artistic processes.



Corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. Zhurkin and member of the Ukrainian academy of sciences A. Shlepakov acquainted the participants in the session with the subjects being developed in the academic institutes with an international profile. They stressed the necessity of increasing the coordination of research on the world economy and international relations as well as foreign ideological trends. These investigations must do everything possible to help strengthen the positions of world socialism and to ensure the peace and security of nations.

Doctor of Historical Sciences B. Korolev and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Yu. Kushakov illuminated questions in the restructuring of the teaching of social sciences in the VUZ's and the role of the cooperation of the scientists of the academic institutions and universities in this restructuring.

Academician V. Vinogradov devoted his speech to the development of the provision of the social scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences with scientific information that is technically up-to-date, and to the results, problems and difficulties in this work.

A. Ursul, vice-president and member of the Moldavian Academy of Sciences, and N. Birillo, academician-secretary of the Social Sciences Department of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences and member of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences, talked about basic directions in research by Moldavian and Belorussian social scientists.

The session passed a decree aimed at improving the organization and coordination of joint complex investigations by social scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and at strengthening their links with life. The following priority directions of such investigations were determined:

- dialectics of the development of socialism in the current stage;
- dynamics and new quality of economic development;
- ideological and socioeconomic problems in scientific-technical progress;
- activation of the human factor, labor reforms and questions in education;
- social, collective and personal interests (their similarity and differences, unity and contradictions);
- restructuring the economic mechanism;
- analysis of the experience and problems of the agro-industrial complex;
- development of socialist democracy as the socialist self-government of the nation;
- questions in the theory and history of culture;
- current problems in contemporary world development (global and regional);

--problems of peace and disarmament;

--experience and problems in the development of socialist economic and scientific-technical integration.

It was considered expedient to establish temporary interinstitutional laboratories with the participation of the VUZ's and centers of the branch science to provide for the indicated complex investigations (including the problems of demography and manpower resources, the psychology of labor under different conditions in the current stage of the scientific-technical revolution, and the application of computers).

A five-year plan was essentially approved for joint research by the institutions of the humanitarian sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences on current problems of paramount importance. This document defines the specific subjects of cooperation, its participants, and the forms for presenting the results of the research (collective monographs, atlases and summaries, reports and proposals for practical organizations, materials for scientific-technical programs, analytical notes, etc.).

Measures are foreseen for the fundamental improvement of the system of scientific coordination between academies, including the broader participation of republic institutions in this system.

"Naukova dumka," the publishing house of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, will publish the materials of the session.

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## SOCIAL ISSUES

### JOINT PROGRAM ON DEVELOPMENT OF SIBERIA DETAILED

Moscow OBNCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 (signed to press 15 Dec 86) pp 155-162

[Article: "Complex Special Programs of Siberian Humanitarians"; material prepared on the basis of articles published in the journal IZVESTIYA SIBIRSKOGO OTDELENIYA AKADEMII NAUK SSSR. SERIYA ISTORII, FILOLOGII I FILOSOFII, No 9, 1986, Issue No 2: A. P. Derevyanko, "Gumanitarnaya nauka v Sibiri: nekotoryye itogi i perspektivy" [Humanitarian Science in Siberia: Some Results and Prospects]; V.I. Boyko, V.N. Karpovich, A.N. Kochergin, A.T. Moskalenko, O.S. Pazumovskiy and N.N. Semenova, "Isucheniye vzaimodeystviya nauchno-technicheskogo i sotsialnogo progressa--nasushchnaya zadacha sovremennosti" [Study of the Interaction of Scientific-Technical and Social Progress--An Urgent Task of the Present Time]; V.V. Alekseyev, R.S. Vasilyevskiy and L.M. Goryushkin, "Isucheniye istoricheskogo opyta osvoyeniya Sibiri" [Study of the Historical Experience in the Development of Siberia]; V.I. Boyko, "Tselevaya programma issledovaniy 'Narodnosti Severa'" [Special Research Program "Nationalities of the North"].

[Text] Complex special programs are one of the effective methods of uniting the efforts of scientists for the elaboration of the current problems in the building of socialism and for the broad application of the humanitarian sciences to specific practical needs. The humanitarian research institutions of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences and its branches together with other scientific centers of the region are carrying out three such programs in the new five-year plan: "Historical Experience in the Study and Development of Siberia," "Interaction of Scientific-Technical and Social Progress: General and Specific," and "Social and Economic Development of the Nationalities of the North Under the Conditions of Scientific-Technical Progress" ("Nationalities of the North").

Each of these problems is independent with respect to its themes. At the same time, together they must form a unified research complex aimed at solving the main task, the study of man and society in a new stage in the building of socialism, the stage of social and economic acceleration. The applied meaning of the programs consists, in working out deep-seated and retrospective aspects of the historical and cultural heritage of the peoples of our country using materials of the region as well as problems in historical and dialectical materialism, in generalizing social experience for the purpose of the further

improvement of social relations, the political system and the spiritual and moral spheres and in activating the human factor.

In selecting the themes and developing the documents under review, consideration was given to the experience of humanitarians in the realization of the large-scale program "Siberia," the core of the work of all Siberian scientists. (Footnote 1) (for more details, see V. Makarov, V. Yermikov, "'Siberia' Program," OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI, No 2, 1983--editor) As you know, the program "Siberia" from 1978 includes the subprogram "Humanitarian Aspects of the Development of Siberia Under the Conditions of Industrialization." Three new special projects are being carried out in the development of this subprogram. The joint work of Siberian humanitarians on the basis of the program-specific methods also relies on experience gained earlier, including in the creation of the many-volumed "Istorii Sibir" [History of Siberia] and other generalizing works.

Participating in the three programs under consideration are the Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences (head institution), the Social Sciences Institute of the Buryatskiy branch of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute for Language, Literature and History of the Yakutsk branch of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Tuvinskiy Institute for Language, Literature and Culture, the Khakasskiy Scientific Research Institute for Language, Literature and Culture, the Gorno-Altaysk Oblast Scientific Research Institute for History, Language and Literature, Novosibirsk University, and other Siberian VUZ's.

As the experience in work on special programs has shown, their successful fulfillment presupposes a qualitatively new level of interaction of academy, VUZ and other scientific centers and the combined efforts of representatives of related disciplines. But the main thing is the formation of a particular way of thinking and new approaches on the part of researchers to the setting and resolution of tasks and an orientation toward final results, including well-founded forecasts and verified recommendations for practice. And here it is very important to work out a system for effective applications of such forecasts and recommendations in party, state and economic authorities and to ensure the participation of scientists in their realization.

The organizational and material-technical provision of the programs is no less important. It is difficult, for example, to count on the active involvement of specialists working in nonacademic institutes if there are no additional opportunities for the publication of the works of scientists with a humanitarian profile. This problem is especially acute in relation to the publication of popular scientific literature.

The three complex programs by no means cover all aspects and directions of the work of Siberian humanitarians in the 12th Five-Year Plan. But primary attention will certainly be given to precisely these programs.

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The necessity of concentrating the energy of historians and specialists of related disciplines on the special program "Historical Experience in the Study and Development of Siberia" is dictated by the intensive development of the productive forces of Siberia, especially under the conditions of the improvement of socialism; by the increase in the role of the region in the country's common national economic complex; by the rich experience in the settlement and development of the region beginning in the distant past and continuing to the present time; and by the complexity of contemporary demographic processes.

The elaboration of the theme also has international importance. The history of its development and today's practice in the transformation of Siberia are widely reflected in Western literature but at times these processes are grossly distorted. The realization of the program will make it possible to counter such distortions through the totality of scientifically verified and correlated data and to show the indisputable advantages of socialist planned methods for the industrial and agricultural development of new territories.

Thus, the goal of the program is the study and dissemination of the historical experience in the fundamental socioeconomic, social and political and cultural changes in Siberia. Proceeding from this, the following basic tasks are set: historiographic generalization of the results of the study of the history of Siberia; elaboration of the problems of historical demography; investigation and dissemination of the experience in the industrial and agrarian development of the region; study of the spiritual potential of the working people.

Proposed are extensive studies in the area of the history of historical science in Siberia, an analysis of the literature on the illumination of the most important problems in the socioeconomic and cultural development of Soviet Siberia, and criticism of bourgeois historiography on the theme of the project.

Historical demography has taken only the first steps in Siberian studies. The attention of scientists will be concentrated on the investigation and dissemination of Soviet experience in resolving the demographic problems: organized resettlement, material and moral factors in stimulating the population, public appeals, adaptability, migration and urbanization, the dynamics of the size and changes in the structure of the urban and rural populations, formation of the international unity of peoples, and others.

The basic stages in the development of industry in the eastern part of the country will be analyzed in the scope of the investigations of the industrial development of Siberia. It is planned to study the experience in the elaboration and realization of the plans for the establishment of territorial production complexes in the prewar and postwar periods as well as the experience in the work of party, state and economic authorities in the mobilization of labor activity and the stimulation of the creative initiative of the masses.

Special attention will be paid to the dissemination of the historical experience in the development of the natural resources of Siberia and their utilization and to the investigation of the totality of socioeconomic,

political and demographic processes determining the dynamics, tendencies and pace of the development of agricultural production during all the years of Soviet authority.

The program for the study of the spiritual potential of the region provides for an analysis of the experience in the building of culture in Siberia, including the development of education, the training of semiskilled and skilled specialists for different sectors of the economy, the establishment and expansion of scientific institutions, the increase in the number and improvement of the quality of scientists in the region, and the role of science in the utilization of natural resources and in the development of all sectors of the national economy.

The authors of the program understand the development of Siberia as a lengthy process from its settlement by primitive people and the colonization of the region in the period of feudalism and capitalism to its accelerated development in the years of Soviet authority. As applied to different stages in the history of Siberia, the tasks of researchers are specified and specific aspects of research are assigned. At the same time, the program concentrates the attention of specialists on some of the most urgent integral problems at different times. They include the role of labor in social reproduction processes, the interaction of material and spiritual cultures, and social ecology. For example, the investigation of the experience in the development of Siberia at the end of the 16th century through the beginning of the 20th century must, in the first place, show how the national experience gained in European Russia in the settlement, construction and disposition of inhabited localities, and in the development of the economy and culture was utilized in Siberia and reveal what is general and specific in the manifestation of the inherent laws for these processes in the center of the country and in the outlying areas. In the second place, it must examine the interrelationships between man and nature in the process of the development of the region, the labor traditions and experience of the masses of the people and the means of passing them on to new generations and determine what in this experience can be of practical interest for today. Thirdly, it must illuminate the positive influence of the economy and culture of the Russian people on the aborigines and the sources of their friendship arising in the process of the development of a harsh region and the struggle against autocracy.

The program "Historical Experience in the Study and Development of Siberia" is being carried out in two stages. In the first stage, which has already begun, questions in the methodology and methods of the research are defined more precisely. For this purpose, conferences and symposiums are organized on controversial problems. New archival documents are revealed and published, sociological surveys and computer computations are performed, collections of articles and collective monographs are issued, and recommendations are prepared for the area of social management. In the second stage, the preparation of the fundamental many-volumed work, "Development of Siberia," is planned.

The mechanism for the realization of the program presupposes the close cooperation of representatives of academic and university science, the scientists of related specialties, and workers in the area of social

management. A historian working in the program must have certain knowledge in one of the related areas: economics, sociology, demography, etc. Another variant is possible--the organization of research under the "relay" principle, where some project or other is subjected to "integral" study by representatives of different sciences using uniform methods. Historians can turn their results over to economists, sociologists, ecologists, teachers and others. A combination of these variants is not ruled out and is even preferable.

The implementation of the program must provide important results. In the theoretical area, this is the revelation of the governing laws and special features of the economic assimilation, settlement and spiritual development of a huge region that has made a noticeable contribution to world civilization. In practical terms, it will become possible to prepare a series of documents in which an evaluation is made of positive and negative experience in the resolution of the socioeconomic and cultural problems of the region on the basis of a retrospective analysis and recommendations will be put forward for the future. In the ideological area, the planned investigations will provide scientists, party and economic workers, teachers at VUZ's and secondary educational institutions, and representatives of the means of mass information with scientifically valid materials on the ways and methods, difficulties and problems in the development of Siberia.

The second special program is the "Interaction of Scientific-Technical and Social Progress: General and Specific." The urgency of the problem is related to the fact that they have not yet worked out a detailed theoretical concept of the interaction of social and scientific-technical progress that would satisfy the demands of the methodological and theoretical provision of the practice of the management of the scientific-technical and social development of socialist society under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution. Scientific-technical progress has now become a most important factor in the development of socialist society. For this reason, the study of the conditions under which it occurs and the knowledge of its social mechanism and social consequences must be the center of attention of philosophers and sociologists.

Considerable scientific-organizational and scientific work preceded the formulation of the draft program: seminars and coordinating meetings were held in Novosibirsk, Irkutsk, Tyumen and Kemerovo, a number of Siberian VUZ's presented materials for investigation, and many VUZ's agreed to participate in the elaboration of the program. The draft program was widely discussed at the special All-Union Practical Science Conference (Novosibirsk, October 1986).

In its essence, the problem of the interaction of scientific-technical and social progress is complex. The interests of different sciences are objectively interwoven in it. The ambiguity and different levels of previous study of questions of scientific-technical and social progress require the combination of the individual approaches of different sciences and the utilization of knowledge relating to different scientific disciplines for the purpose of revealing the most important inherent laws and special features.



In complex research bringing together technical, natural, economic and humanitarian sciences, the latter play an especially important role in the comprehension of scientific-technical and social progress. This is linked above all with the problem of activating the human factor, the role of which is particularly increasing in connection with the transition of the society to intensive paths of development. The scientific-technical revolution, being the result of human action, is simultaneously bringing about a fundamental change in man himself. Contemporary social processes are making him more versatile and complex, which also conditions the updating of humanitarian problems. Thus, there is every reason to speak of a certain autonomy of the social aspects of scientific-technical progress. The social conditions in which it takes place as well as its social mechanism and social consequences are worthy of becoming the subject of a comprehensive investigation.

The social problems in the scientific-technical revolution are of special interest from two aspects: in the first place, from the point of view of the influence of scientific-technical progress on the development of society as a whole as well as on the development of different social groups and communities; secondly, in connection with the reverse influence of social factors on the course of scientific-technical progress.

The possibility of separating out social aspects of the management of scientific-technical progress as an independent subject of research is also conditioned by organizational aspects: the base institution for its study is the Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, where the largest group of specialists in the humanitarian sciences in Siberia is concentrated. A system has been worked out for its extensive scientific ties with other humanitarian institutions of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences and other scientific centers. The philosophical and sociological subdivisions of the institute have for many years been studying a number of themes that fit in very well with the problems in the scientific-technical revolution, that is, the work has definitely been started and there is research experience for their elaboration.

The basic objective of the program is to carry out an entire cycle of research on problems in the interaction of scientific-technical and social progress to help accelerate the latter. Such a cycle includes a theoretical-methodological study of the concept of the interaction of scientific-technical and social progress (with the emphasis on the specifics of the Siberian region), the carrying out of empirical research on problems of the effectiveness of the utilization of the scientific potential and the management of social processes, and the development on this basis of practical recommendations for directing authorities.

The realization of this goal must be reflected above all: a) in the complex elaboration of a methodological base for the improvement of socialist public production and the acceleration of the pace and scale of the assimilation of the latest achievements of science, equipment, technology and the scientific organization of social labor; b) in the scientific dissemination of advanced experience and new forms of economic organization permitting a broader and more comprehensive utilization of the achievements of science and technology



in all areas of social life and establishing the conditions under which "the application of science in direct production itself becomes one of the determinant and impelling factors for it" (Footnote 2) (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Sochineniya" [Works], Vol 46, Part II, p 212); and c) in the comprehensive study of the problem of the development of the scientific-technical potential, its specific orientation and efficient utilization in the scope of the country and individual regions, in the improvement of the forms of integration of different sectors of academic, branch, VUZ and plant science with social production, and in the search for optimum forms of development of the "science-production" system.

The formulation of functional problem groups is now being completed. Scientific subdivisions belonging to different departments and territorial administrations emerge in different program themes as leading or head organizations.

The program under development and being realized updates the subject field of the research on philosophy and sociology, resolves questions in the mobilization of the scientific forces of the region for the study of a single large-scale problem, and foresees a mechanism of interaction of social sciences with social management practice.

Interdepartmental and interdisciplinary cooperation on the basis of the "Nationalities of the North" program is called upon to direct, intensify and update cognitive and practical work previously done separately and without coordination under different specific principles and departmental affiliation of the research collectives. The methodological principle of complexity and order in the study of an object makes it possible to acquire more complete and comprehensive knowledge of the inherent laws for the functioning and development of a national community under the new conditions, to raise the level of efficiency of the practical application of scientific results, and to establish an organic link between social knowledge and social management through the transformation of the results of research into a system of administrative decisions.

The fact that the given project is a component of the "Siberia" program opens up possibilities for more extensive cooperation in scientific work not only on the nationalities of the north but also on the Soviet north as a whole, possibilities for correlating the resolution of the tasks in the development of small nationalities with the overall state tasks foreseen by the programs for the economic and social development of the region.

In 1982, in fulfilling a decree of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and a joint decision of the Siberian departments of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and the Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V.I. Lenin, a Regional Interdepartmental Commission on the coordination of complex research on problems in the development of the nationalities of the north was established. This commission carries out the management of the "Nationalities of the North" program.

The program was developed in several stages. In the first stage, a bibliographical index was prepared that included about 2,000 publications.

(Footnote 3) (See "Sotsialno-ekonomicheskoye i kulturnoye razvitiye narodnostey Severa. (Bibliograficheskiy ukazatel literatury za 1970-1983 gg.)" [Socioeconomic and Cultural Development of the Nationalities of the North. (Bibliographical Index of the Literature 1970-1983)], Novosibirsk, 1983) This helped to form a concept of the scientific interests of specialists, to evaluate the degree of development of individual problems, and to reveal the directions requiring more detailed and broader study. In the second stage, on the basis of personal addressing (special questionnaire), the creative potential of the program (600 researchers) and the nature of the possible contribution of each scientist to the joint work were determined, a provisional grouping by themes, problems, blocks and subgroups was prepared, and the potential managers of problem groups and blocks were specified. The third stage is the preparation and holding of meetings of researchers and management workers in the scope of the All-Union scientific conference "Nationalities of the North: Problems and Prospects for Economic and Social Development" (Novosibirsk, 1983). In the final analysis, all of this made it possible to determine the structure of the program, the principles of its organization, the provision of personnel and material, etc.

The program goals have been formulated: development of a concept for the social development of the nationalities of the north under the conditions of the acceleration of scientific-technical progress for the period through the year 2000, of the strategy and tactics for the management of the processes of internationalization, and of proposals for the practice of planning and social regulation.

Functional problem groups are being established for work in the scope of the program. Two approaches were utilized in their formation. One of them is the uniting of the subjects of different sciences on the basis of a complex concept of the problem and the selection of components in its structure that are essential and adequate for a system analysis. The assembly of these components determines the participation of representatives of several sciences in research. The extent of the complexity and interdependence of the problem also determines the nature of the interaction of sciences. Thus, the social problems in reindeer breeding required the organizational unification of practically all scientific directions of the program in the unified experiment "Tompo." In other cases (for example, in the resolution of the "school-boarding school-family" problem) a less extensive collection of scientific forces was determined.

The second approach is the uniting of scientific forces as a function of the level of abstraction of the scientific subject, that is, the level of the theory and methodology of the corresponding subject of science. The functional problem group includes representatives of philosophy and sociology, mathematics and other branches of knowledge. More general theoretical and methodological positions are translated into special theories and methodologies and, finally, "descend" to direct changes. This eliminates the gap between sciences of a different level of abstraction. The functional problem groups formed on these two principles ensure the complexity and order of the scientific search directly at the level of the problems and phenomena.

The "Nationalities of the North" program presupposes the unity of the theoretical and empirical levels of scientific knowledge and includes the methodological substantiation of research as a whole, the development of a theoretical concept for development, and the orientation toward social practice.

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## SOCIAL ISSUES

### BOOK TO EXAMINE DIFFERENCES IN SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 (signed to press 15 Dec 86) pp 172-178

[Article by Dr of Philosophical Sciences L. Levykin (Sociological Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences): "The General and Specific in the Socialist Way of Life"]

[Text] The first meeting of the working group "Formation of the Socialist Way of Life" of the Problem Commission for Multilateral Cooperation (MPK) of the academies of science of the socialist countries, "Social Processes in Socialist Society," was held a little more than 10 years ago. The group includes representatives of the scientific institutions of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the USSR and the CSSR. The group was faced with the task of working out the theoretical and methodological aspects of the study of the socialist way of life.

In the beginning stage of the cooperation, they discussed the principles and methodological approaches to the study of the way of life and defined the conceptual apparatus permitting the uncovering of its content and the inherent laws of its formation and functioning. The main result of the creative discussions was the development of a Marxist-Leninist concept of the socialist way of life. Consolidated indicators of the basic areas of vital activity as well as of the level and quality of life were formulated and possibilities were specified for manifesting the life style at individual and group levels. A number of collections of articles have been published in the form of the working group. (Footnote 1) ("Sotsialisticheskiy obraz zhizni i izmeneniya v sotsialno-klassovoy strukture sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" [Socialist Way of Life and Changes in the Social and Class Structure of Socialist Society], Prague, 1980, in Czech and Russian; "Obraz zhizni v sotsialisticheskikh stranakh" [Way of Life in Socialist Countries], Moscow, 1985; "Way of Life, Free Time and Leisure," Prague, 1986, in English. The latter collection was especially prepared for the 11th World Sociological Congress.)

In the new five-year plan, through the efforts of the group, work began on the creation of the monography, "The General and Specific in the Way of Life of the Socialist Countries." The regular meeting of the group in Sofia in May 1986 discussed the text of the first chapter of the book (I. Levykin and T. Khan) and the concept of the second chapter (St. Vidershpil and Zb. Sufin).



They heard reports and information from the representatives of all national parts of the group on current questions in the study of the way of life. In particular, the Bulgarian sociologists A. Antasov, V. Dobriyanov, S. Dilova, V. Topilova, T. Peteva and Zh. Stamenova examined the methodological and procedural aspects of the study of the way of life of the population of the Rodopskiy region of Bulgaria. They presented the authors' scales and indices of the satisfaction with the conditions of life, empirical indicators of subjective aspects of labor activity, principles for the formation of aggregated scales, etc.

The meeting generalized the results of the research on methodological problems in the revelation of specific features of the way of life as a function of historical, national, natural-climatological and other conditions of vital activity and the influence of the dynamics of the economic, political and ideological situations on the changes in the level and way of life of different social groups.

Obviously, the information on the meeting in Sofia can give a certain idea of the current stage of the work on the monography as well as of the approach to its creation. This will be a work built on coordinated scientific principles. In the course of the preparation of the materials of the book, of course, it is still necessary to overcome many methodological and procedural difficulties, above all to present in it a generalized description of the way of life of the population of socialist countries and individual classes, strata and social groups. But today the international team of authors already relies on a jointly developed system of initial positions permitting a comparative analysis of real social processes and the revelation of the general and specific features in the way of life of individual classes, strata and social groups with substantial differences in their level and quality of life.

I would like to tell about these initial theoretical and methodological principles that are the fruit of comradely discussions and suggestions from all members of the working group.

Let us begin, naturally, with the problems of the categorical-conceptual apparatus. As you know, more than 50 definitions of the way of life have been proposed in the scientific literature of the socialist countries. They reflect both the "personal" view of the object by various authors as well as the approach that they select--economic, historical, sociological, social-psychological, pedagogic, system-functional, etc. As a rule, however, all existing definitions have three to five key concepts relating to the content of the way of life. These are "vital activity," "relations," "needs," "interests," "life circumstances" and a number of others. Most often the disputes involve the relationships between the means of production and the way of life, between the living conditions and the way of life, between the standard of life and the quality of life, etc. The understanding that the way of life can be revealed through the activity of the social groups, through the system of interrelationships between them arising in the process of this activity, and through the direct daily contact and interaction of people does not negate the uniqueness of the approaches to the exposition of the real way of life or, more accurately, to its description and scientific explanation.

Obviously, as experience is gained in the study of the object, the categorical apparatus and conceptual approach to the interpretation of the processes taking place in it will improve.

As for the authors of the international monography, they have adopted the following as a working definition: "The way of life is the means of vital activity through which people assimilate and change the conditions of their own lives, reproduce and improve the system of social relations and themselves, satisfy their own needs and realize their life plans in specific situations." In our view, such a definition permits the researcher to concentrate his attention on the main questions: what is being done, how is it done, and for what purpose (in the name of what)?

A comprehensive analysis of the means, types and forms of vital activity of individuals and communities carried out in specific historical situations (economic, political, social, cultural, ideological, ecological and others) serves as the initial theoretical-methodological basis for the study of the real way of life. An analysis of the conditions of life is also an essential component of any research project.

It should be noted that the authors of the monography do not include the conditions of vital activity in the "way of life" concept. But they consider a detailed clarification of these conditions to be an indispensable and essential stage in the analysis of the way of life of any group of the population.

The working group attributes the following to the objective conditions of the vital activity of people:

1. The social and economic conditions characterizing the material-technical base of a specific stage in the building of socialism. In the current stage of the development of the USSR and the European CEMA countries, particular importance is accruing to such indicators as the level of mechanization and automation, the introduction of new technologies, the intensification of public production, changes in the content and conditions of labor, etc.; the level of development and the degree of maturity of the relations of ownership, exchange, distribution and consumption; the development of production democracy, the transition of labor collectives to cost accounting and completely self-supporting production, the interrelationships between accumulation and consumption, and the combination of overall-state, class, collective and personal economic interests.

2. Social and political conditions characterizing the political organization of the society, the level of development of democracy and self-government, and the functioning of state and social institutes and ensuring the participation of the working people in the management of public affairs. Dynamic processes of democratization and the richness of the forms and methods of the political activation of all groups of the population are characteristic of the contemporary way of life in socialist countries.

3. Social-living conditions: state and dynamics of housing construction, provision of the population with everyday goods and services, development of public health, housework, physical culture and sports, and others.

4. Social and cultural and ideological conditions characterizing the development of the system of education and culture, political, economic and esthetic education, the functioning of cultural institutions, and amateur folk performances.

5. Ecological conditions, including the conservation of the environment, the utilization of nature, the development of ecological thinking, urbanization and the restructuring of the "human living environment."

The monography will divide the conditions of the vital activity of social groups into objective (in different areas: labor, public and political life, culture, everyday life, and others) and subjective conditions. The second group of factors is still rather poorly studied and it is thereby proposed that the book pay special attention to it. It is primarily a matter of the analysis of the state and dynamics of public, group and individual consciousness, which act to regulate the conduct of people under different situations of vital activity. The structural components of public consciousness are included in the process of the vital activity and conduct of social groups in different ways. To study the inclusion of consciousness in the real way of life, it is essential to uncover the levels of social knowledge and the interaction of social perception as well as historical memory and thinking. To a considerable extent, the dialectics of this interaction determines the way of thinking and conduct in specific situations. It is no less important to reveal the interrelationship of needs, abilities, knowledge and habits and their impact on value orientations, the choice of the life path, etc. and also to establish the influence of ideals on the motivational structure of consciousness and the life concept of the personality as well as on the choice of goals and the means for realizing life plans.

The indicated conditions of the vital activity of people will be examined at three levels in the monography: the universal level, that is, common for the entire country, the regional level, and the specific individual level. At the same time, it is planned to utilize class, professional and demographic differences as objective variables.

In this way, it is a matter of the investigation and description in the work of the totality of objective and subjective conditions, social structures and relations giving a generalized expression of the specific historical and essential factors in the development of a way of life.

Let us add that the concept "situation" is introduced into the investigation to characterize the vital activity of people carrying out their goals, specific tasks and life plans. Depending upon the level of scrutiny of the way of life, it is interpreted as a "specific-historical situation," a "social situation" or as a problem "life situation." The latter arises on the basis of contradictions occurring in the course of social development and discrepancies between the real possibilities of the society and the life plans



of the subjects of a way of life and between what is desired and the circumstances.

A real way of life is formed on the basis of the interaction of the conditions of the vital activity, consciousness and the practical activity of the social subject and social groups. To reveal the basic features and qualitative characteristics of a way of life, a well-developed scale of its quantitative and qualitative indicators is essential.

The participants in the working group repeatedly discussed different systems of indicators of a way of life including from several hundred to several thousand characteristics of the way of life, consciousness and results (products) of the vital activity of people. The authors of the monography came to the conclusion that it is necessary to use no fewer than 400 indicators for a description of the state and basic tendencies in the development of the socialist way of life. It is thereby important to ensure a correlation between quantitative and qualitative indicators.

The international group is utilizing the system of integral (synthetic) indicators of a way of life proposed by Soviet scientists. It includes: social activity (labor, public-political and cognitive activities, initiative, innovation, etc.); social well-being (unity of the standard and quality of life); culture of the life style (culture of production, labor, consumption, relations, intercourse; political, legal, moral and esthetic culture; culture of feeling, thoughts and conduct). It is the general opinion of the participants in the work that the study of the forms of the manifestation of the enumerated characteristics of the way of life as a function of national, historical, regional and class features makes it possible to uncover the correlation between the general and specific features of the way of life in socialist countries.

Social optimism, confidence in tomorrow, collectivism, patriotism and socialist internationalism are general and deep-seated characteristics of the socialist way of life. The latest congresses of communist and worker parties of fraternal countries, having disseminated the experience in the establishment of a new society and revealed the dialectical contradictions in this process, outlined the paths for the further improvement of the socialist way of life. The main factors in this improvement are the acceleration of social and economic development, the restructuring of the public organism, the renewal and purification of life from everything that is obsolete and incompatible with the norms of socialism, and the observance of the principle of social justice.

It is proposed that a significant place in the monography be assigned to the principle of social justice as one of the most important bases for the achievement of social well-being. In discussing the indicated theme, the participants in the team of authors note that the mechanism of social comparison and the orientation of the personality toward other people in evaluating his own achievements and possibilities actively influence the preception of social well-being. As a rule, an individual's evaluation of the level and quality of life is through comparison with the level and quality of life of representatives of his own generation, age and social and educational



group and subsequently of other social-democratic groups. The evaluation of what has been achieved and the plans for the near future are determined by many variables. Personal achievements, a real notion of one's own possibilities, and the psychology of the "achievement of a state of prestige" hold a dominant place among them. The choice of the means and ideological-moral content of the motivation of behavior attain primary social importance in multivariant situations for the achievement of well-being.

The subjective perception of social well-being is a component of many psychological states and processes determined by the interaction of current needs, value orientations, life plans, knowledge and convictions. The study of the concepts of different social groups of the desired parameters of well-being and of life ideals permits one to draw the conclusion: a characteristic pattern of life's blessings was formed in the socialist society. [There is] a persistent stereotype of consciousness, a deep-seated motive for the activity and behavior of each person during the course of his entire life--the striving to live better and to achieve greater social well-being. For this purpose, use is made of an entire range of means, from those approved by the society to those incompatible with the norms of the way of life.

A person's social state of health is determined by his place and role in the collective, in the family and in contact groups, by the level of relations in them, and by the moral and psychological climate that establishes the corresponding frame of mind. Thus, highly moral relations in the family, in the collective and in groups with daily contact (relatives, friends and colleagues) also give rise to the corresponding indicators of well-being: honesty, conscientiousness, discipline, activeness, fairness, etc. Drunkenness and stealing are significant indicators of misfortune.

The feeling of well-being or misfortune is quite individual. For one person, tranquility and a customarily even flow of life denote a level of satisfaction, whereas for another person the perception of well-being requires active "intervention" in the processes of life and the struggle for the observance of the principle of social fairness.

The discussions in the meetings of the working group substantiated the conclusion that at the level of the society, social groups or labor collectives the tranquil flow of life is by no means always equivalent to social well-being, especially in the current stage of qualitative restructuring of all aspects of life in socialist society.

The key problem that the participants in the work want to help solve is the determination of the basic tendencies in the development of the socialist way of life. The study of the status and dynamics of the way of life as a dialectical unity of the past, present and future and the diagnostics of the problem "life situations" with an orientation toward the search for the most nearly optimum ways to resolve them are the basic methodological principles of the international comparative investigation of the tendencies in the development of the way of life of the population of the countries in the socialist community. The authors of the monography proceed from the fact that the positive trends in the development of the way of life will become stronger

in the period ahead, the fight against antisocial phenomena and their perpetrators will be activated, and there will be qualitative changes in the public consciousness and psychology that act to regulate behavior in specific work situations.

The dynamics and basic dominant tendencies in the formation and strengthening of the socialist way of life in each country will be determined on the basis of the interaction of the most significant social processes. This, in the first place, is a new stage of scientific-technical progress leading to qualitative changes in technological processes, in the content and conditions of labor, and in the culture of production and the rate of increase in labor productivity. In the second place, this is an improvement in socialist production relations and in the system of administration and management providing for the strengthening and increase in the public ownership of the means of production as well as for qualitative changes in distributive relations based on social justice.

More and more influence on the development of the way of life will also come from such factors as the increase in well-being, qualitative changes in the nonproductive sphere, the drawing together of classes and social groups and nations (in multinational states), the development of the socialist self-administration of the people, the increase in the social and political activity of the working people, the further strengthening of socialist ideology and collectivist moral principles in the consciousness of people, and the familiarization of the masses with high cultural values and the achievements of contemporary science. Qualitative changes in all areas of public life are the basis for the reproduction of the socialist content and further development of the new way of life.

The key task in the management of the formation of the socialist way of life is the affirmation in all activities of the fundamental principles of socialism, the dialectical unity of labor and public-political activities, social fairness and social well-being, and a high culture of labor, relations and intercourse. The labor and sound ideological-moral ways of life are the basic characteristics of its social content.

The preparation of the international monography, "The General and Specific in the Way of Life of Socialist Countries," will make it possible to generalize the experience in the formation and development of the way of life in the past 15 years and to obtain an idea of the dynamics of the way of life and the general and regional features of its development as well as of the phenomena and processes in the area under consideration. The authors of the work hope that it will help to reveal the optimum forms and methods for restructuring social consciousness, to activate the human factor, and to prepare practical recommendations and forecasts.

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## SOCIAL ISSUES

### TASS CORRESPONDENT URGES PUNISHMENT FOR PROSTITUTES

LD120143 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1010 UNT 11 Mar 87

[Excerpts] In this bulletin we present a report on a subject that only a short time ago never appeared in our press. "Like Virtue on the Scales of Justice"--that is the headline given by a TASS correspondent.

The journalist tells the following tale: Like all Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] personnel, Major (Adzhiyev), operational commander at the 69th Moscow militia precinct, does not have fixed working hours. Sometimes his day lasts from dusk till dawn, and sometimes dawn till dusk. Given such a tight schedule, how can he have time for a hobby? Nevertheless, he has one. In the 15 years he has been working here, Sergey Andreyevich has built up a vast collection. It is this: a catalogue of cadres arranged alphabetically, more than 3,500 of them. They are ordinary files. As is right and proper in documents of this sort, they contain surnames, first names, and patronymics. And in the column labeled distinguishing marks stands the word "prostitute."

Is that really a distinguishing mark? one asks. Yes, it turns out that it is. It is not only a type of occupation, but a human character.

Now, what about those registered in the card index? It is hard to call them women any longer. The age-range here is quite considerable: from 14 to 70. A good example is the dynasty, in which granny, daughter, and granddaughter all work together. Vacant eyes, unwashed, puffy faces, dishevelled hair--this is the last stage in their downfall.

The prices are also appropriate: the minimum is a glass of cheap wine. Not all cases are limited to selling one's body for three rubles. Here they rob and steal, get their clients drunk, and toss them out of taxis. Incomes here are not a matter of 3-ruble notes. For example, many adventure-seekers from the north say goodbye to the thousands they have earned by honest toil in severe conditions. These unfortunates do not usually complain. They are ashamed. Still, the word prostitution is not spoken aloud.

One of the old professionals was called in to the station. Her file shows that she has been detained eight times. Her unfortunate client, a bachelor of 50, with higher education [words indistinct] complains that his evening

has been spoiled. He never thought that he might catch an infection, or that he might be robbed. But when Major (Adzhiyev) calls his companion in the non-consummated relationship a prostitute, he falls to thinking: But we do not have prostitution! Can I not put her down in my evidence as a woman of easy virtue?

In 1980, on the eve of the Olympics, an effort was made to improve the moral image of the capital, and 70 prostitutes were dispatched beyond the 100-kilometer limit. In the files of many of them 1980 was a fateful year, although many of them returned.

There are other representatives of the oldest profession. They consider themselves a cut above, and are a little more expensive. Before visiting the section of the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department that deals with the fight against prostitution--it handles only prostitutes who work for hard currency--the correspondent called the office of the USSR Procuracy. When asked if they have any cases of prostitution they said: It must be a rare phenomenon; we have not so much as one case; and this question has never entered our purview.

Yet here are some facts from a conversation with the personnel of Petrovka-38 [central Moscow police station] from their experience on duty at the Hotel National and [word indistinct]. On occasion we have arrested so many girls that they have filled up a whole Ikarus bus, which, like a taxi on a fixed route, ferried them in several trips to the 108th militia precinct, where the papers are filled out. What happened to those girls? the correspondent asked. The personal details were taken down, and they were released, as it transpires. There was no point taking down details of the old acquaintances--they are so well known.

As a rule, these highly-paid prostitutes find work as cleaners and watchmen. In most cases, the professionals do not put in an appearance at their jobs at all, but find a stand-in, whom they pay double wages for this.

In fact, what can they be charged with? [words indistinct] hard-currency transactions, sharing bottles of alcohol in a public place, brawling and being rowdy, speculation in, possession, and use of drugs. Incidentally, prostitutes have wide circles of acquaintances. In addition to the staff of hotels and restaurants, whom they pay for the right to enter places where there are clients with hard currency, their circle of acquaintances includes doctors--for fictitious certificates and clandestine treatment for venereal disease--and the owners of apartments rented by prostitutes for their work. It also includes fictitious husbands, pimps, and taxi drivers--"drayvera," in their jargon--who not only provide transport for prostitutes, but sometimes also find customers for them.

In any event, this underground trade is punishable. But, as before, the source of income itself--the prostitutes--is not punishable, since the criminal code of none of the union republics provides for penalties for selling one's body. The absence of a penalty impairs the unshakeable nature of one's conviction that retribution and punishment will follow.



Prostitution must be punishable by law. That is how the TASS correspondent sees the matter. At the moment, easy virtue is weightless on the scales of justice. But the weight of moral downfall is great. This ugly phenomenon cannot remain outside the attention of the law in our country.

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## SOCIAL ISSUES

### TURKMEN LEADER REPLIES TO REPORT ON DRUG PROBLEM

PM051643 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 3 February 1987 Morning Edition carries on page 3 under the headline "Combating Drugs" a reply to IZVESTIYA from A. Khodzhamuradov, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers. The reply is carried under the rubric "After IZVESTIYA Spoke Out" and is prefaced "On the Results of Examination of the Report Entitled 'Against Drugs' Published in Issue No 276." Khodzhamuradov's reply reads as follows:

"The IZVESTIYA report headlined 'Against Drugs' has been examined at a session of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers Presidium. The criticism was deemed correct.

"The republic's ministries and departments and local soviet ispolkoms have not taken the necessary measures to carry out the demands of the party and government on combating drug addiction.

"The Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers has instructed all the republic ministries and departments involved to take effective measures to eliminate the causes and conditions which give rise to drug addiction. In so doing, paramount attention is to be paid to increasing the effectiveness of work among minors and young people. Measures have been formulated to step up the campaign against drug addiction in the republic.

"The republic's Ministry of Justice, together with the Prosecutor's Office, the MVD, and the Supreme Court, are drafting proposals on appropriate amendments to the republic's existing criminal law regarding liability for the use of narcotic substances and for drug-related offenses.

"The Ministry of Health has been given 2 months to reinforce the narcotics service and to staff it with skilled cadres, and has been told to provide training as of 1 January 1987 for doctors specializing in drug addiction at central skill-improvement institutes and on the basis of the republic's clinical psychoneurological hospital. It is proposed to develop a high-speed laboratory diagnostic service for drug addicts.

"Special attention has been paid to stepping up the monitoring of land use, particularly in remote rural locations, and to increasing the efficiency of work aimed at promptly discovering, preventing, or interrupting the sowing of

crops containing narcotic substances. It is planned to conduct an annual examination of subsidiary plots, collective orchards and truck farms, lands belonging to kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises and organizations, and also state reserve and forestry lands.

"The republic's MVD has been instructed to take additional measures to close channels for the illegal import of narcotic substances into the republic from other parts of the country, to unmask promptly and institute criminal proceedings against individuals engaged in the transport, manufacture, and sale of narcotics, to step up monitoring of the work of investigators examining narcotics-related cases, and to prevent unjustified refusals to institute criminal proceedings.

"The republic Council of Ministers Commission for Combating Drunkenness and Drug Addiction has reviewed its work. It will study the activity of the Mary, Chardzhou, and Ashkhabad Oblispolkoms and the Ashkhabad Gorispolkom to step up the struggle against drug addiction, detect areas of illicit crops containing narcotic substances, and enhance the role of cultural and sports institutions and labor collectives.

"The Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers is especially monitoring questions of the struggle against drug addiction."

The article is accompanied by a commentary from the IZVESTIYA editorial office which reads as follows:

"The reply addressed to IZVESTIYA is reassuring. But here is a recent observation made at the USSR Prosecutor's Office, where a special conference was held on questions of combating drug addiction. '...although certain improvements have been noted in eliminating this terrible phenomenon in the Karakalpak region (which our newspaper also wrote about in connection with drug-addiction problems), in Turkmenia preventive work is still poor and lacks organization and commitment. Local soviets, the prosecutor's office, the militia, agro-industrial complex and health organs, trade unions, and other organizations in the republic have still not pooled their efforts or encouraged labor collectives to eradicate drug addiction.

"If the measures which the chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers has reported to the editorial office are implemented in the near future the adverse situation which has developed in Turkmenia over the years will change, too."

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## SOCIAL ISSUES

### BRIEFS

USSR CRIME RATE DOWN--The Soviet Minister of the Interior, Aleksandr Vlasov, has said in an interview for the press that the serious crime rate in the Soviet Union is one-seventeenth of that in the United States. In general the crime rate in this country went down 4.6 percent as compared to 1985. The murder and manslaughter rate has gone down 22 percent. At the same time, the minister said, there have been more cases of perjury, black-marketeering and embezzlement though this is due not to a growth in the number of such crimes but to more active efforts to combat them. [Text] [Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 18 Mar 87 LD] /9738

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## REGIONAL ISSUES

### ESTONIAN PROTESTS RUSSIAN STREET NAMES, CANNED GOODS INSTRUCTIONS

Tallinn SIRP JA VASAR in Estonian 13 Mar 87 p 2

[Article: "Those Complicated Language Relationships"; continued from the SIRP JA VASAR of 6 March]

[Excerpts] Very briefly about street names. If you look at it, those too reflect the one-time complicated relationships both in languages and in minds.

I personally rate Gogol, for example, very highly; he is a writer close to my heart. But several of my colleagues in Moscow and Leningrad have expressed amazement when they learn that I live in Gogol Street in Tallinn--Gogol has never been to these parts. Or, for example, how can one justify giving the names of Nakhimov or Suvorov to our streets? (With Suvorov's name it is an altogether bad state of affairs--in our part of the world yet another Suvorov is remembered, a Baltic governor general 1848-1861, alas, in not at all congenial terms!) And there are several other historical street names which were changed light-heartedly at different times or new ones which were christened with equal ease. About all this it has been written to a degree; now it is time that the town authorities would have a say. There and then, the executive committee of the capital of Saaremaa changed four street names and in Tartu, the ex-Gogol library acquired the name of Luts [a well-known Estonian writer who is associated with Tartu], which feels very natural.

Involuntarily, the impression is that in Tallinn nothing is desired to be changed. Or is there a fear of fuss? Perhaps the names commission could then start from the simplest, the least troublesome, even from this unfortunate "Veterok" [word in Russian; means 'little wind'] summer coffee shop in Kadriorog [part of Tallinn] which has been so much talked about that either the wind or some naughty boys have gradually changed it into the "Eterok" coffee shop. (Footnote 1) (As of 1st March 1987, the sign has disappeared and the coffee shop is nameless. Even that is good. (T.K.)) And why not give Tammsaare's name [best-known Estonian classic] to the library where the writer read and worked?

On the other hand, it is worth remembering that in the process of changing names (should that indeed take place) or in the excitement of giving out new names, one should not forget those great figures of Russian culture whose links with our town(s) and land are indisputable, for example Dostoyevskiy and Severyanin, as well as the sons and daughters of other people.

It is quite clear that within the borders of the Estonian SSR, Estonian is among other things also the official language, including the language of documents. But a couple of recent facts made me feel worried.

In the office of the Tammsaare collective farm, Paide Rayon, I was shown a brochure-like booklet, the collective farm's yearly account, whose texts were all printed in Russian. At that time, the putting together of the Russian-language account had been completed--for the Estonian SSR Agro-industrial Association. I did not understand precisely if that was an order from above or a deduction from below. I believe that a matter of this kind is also up to us ourselves to decide. If it is viewed here only as "simplifying one's life" for some possible all-union accounting purposes, I dare to remind you that up to now the job of a departmental translator has been held in high esteem. I dare to guess also that a specialist who has received a higher education in Estonian, may still get into trouble over terminology with a Russian-language account. If it is somebody's negligence or arrogance behind this, let the department itself sort that out.

More about things which do not perhaps quite directly depend on us. A number of foodstuffs, notably tins, carry fairly long recipes, apart from the name of the product, yet only in Russian. A colleague of mine who investigated this matter at the Tartu cannery, said knowledgeably that supposedly there is a ruling in existence from the relevant all-union ministry which allows only the names of the product and the producer to be printed in a national language. If so, then the functionary of the relevant ministry has made a grave mistake; he cannot possibly be in the deciding position for allowing or forbidding production documentation (which among other things, contain the method of preparation and are fairly important to the housewife) in the mother tongue of this or that republic. I assume that something like this has created the latest situation at the Tallinn Central Post Office: parcels for abroad must have a return address in Russian. If this has been devised for easing the daily work of communications workers of Russian nationality, then once again it has been forgotten that the person serving is for the person to-be-served, and not the other way around. If it is meant for teaching Russian to foreign citizens, including for example, Estonian emigrants, then the results will not keep us waiting for long since we are dealing with political short-sightedness. If one wants to be very precise, then the international postal language should be French. Whichever grade functionary is standing behind this ruling, his attention must be turned to the obvious circumstances--and as swiftly as possible. (Footnote 2) (As one can read from the reply published in the OHTULEHT [the evening paper for Tallinn] in answer to a reader's letter, it has to do first and foremost with the "self-initiative" of the workers of the Central Post Office. (T.K.))

To end the subject of documentation: It is presumed and natural that a specialist in every field is capable of putting together correct documents in Russian, if a need arises (it is especially good if he/she can do it also in other important languages). Yet equally natural is his/her constitutional right to put them together in his/her mother tongue to an authority in his

home republic, the more so, since behind the specialist lies the thorough system of the Estonian-language professional education in several stages, which is something that we are all justifiably proud of as one of the weightier examples of the course of the nationalities' policy in our large homeland.

Teet Kallas

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22 June 1987